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(New Series)

EDITED BY

P. V. KANE
A. A. A. FYZEE
N. K. BHAGWAT

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CHANDONUŚĀSANA OF JAYAKĪRTI AND ANCIENT KANNADA METRES

By H. D. VELANKAR

Chandonuśāsana of Jayakīrti is a work on Sanskrit metres in general but contains a chapter on the pure Kannada metres; it does not treat of any Prākṛta metres, though it defines a few Sanskrit Mātrā Vṛttas and very few Tāla Vṛttas. The chief interest of the work is, however, in its treatment of the Kannada metres. This work of Jayakīrti exists, so far as I know, in a single palm-leaf manuscript preserved in the Jesalmir Jain Bhandar. It forms part of a bigger MS., which contains other works on metre, namely, Jayadeva's Chandas with Harṣaṭa's commentary (leaves 1–10; 1–44); Virahāṅka's Vṛttajātisamuccaya with Gopāla's Vṛtti (leaves 46–89; 90–183); Vṛttaratnākara of Kedāra (leaves 1–15) and Chandonuśāsana of Jayakīrti (leaves 1–28). Of these Virahāṅka's Vṛttajātisamuccaya (only the text) is already published by me with the help of Bhau Daji's copy of this manuscript at *JBBRAS.*, 1929, 1932. Kedāra's work is well known, while the remaining two works are unknown up to now. Jayadeva's work on metre is indeed now and then referred to, but it has not been available so far. Now I have been able to secure a good copy of the portions of this manuscript containing the works of Jayadeva, Virahāṅka and Jayakīrti owing to the inimitable kindness of the noble-minded Muni Shri Jinavijayaji, at present the Director of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavana, Bombay, who has devoted his life to the publication of important Jain literature. I intend to publish Jayadeva's work with the commentary, separately very early. For the present I am publishing only a portion of Jayakīrti's Chandonuśāsana (Ch. I, a part of Ch. VI, and Ch. VII). The remaining portions of it will be published along with Jayadeva's work, for which latter I have obtained also another copy of the same MS. from the BORI., Poona. The palm-leaf MS. mentioned above is dated twice; once at the end of the text of Jayadeva's work and then at the end of the whole MS. The first date is Saṁ. 1190 when the writing was begun and the last date is Saṁ. 1192 when it was concluded. Different parts are separately paged as indicated above. See Dalal, Catalogue of MSS. in the Jesalmere Bhandars, Baroda (Gaek. O.S.), 1923, p. 29, No. 238.

2. Jayakīrti's Chandonuśāsana contains eight chapters in all. It is throughout written in Sanskrit verse, the metre usually adopted being the Anuṣṭubh, Āryā

or Skandhaka, except in the definitions of the metres, where the defined metre itself is used for the definition. The FIRST chapter is introductory and begins with an homage to Vardhamāna. It has 28 stanzas; vv. 3-4 explain short and long letters, their syllabic quantity and their graphical representation. V. 5 mentions an exception in the case of popular poetry; it is firstly, the option in the case of the Dīrghatva of a syllable which precedes a conjunct and secondly, the option in the case of the Dīrghatva of *e* and *o*. These latter are also used as Hrasva in popular poetry. V. 6 enumerates the 8 Akṣara Gaṇas with their presiding deities, while the Gaṇas themselves are explained in vv. 8-9. V. 7 is here reproduced from Ch. VIII. 2, perhaps by some older scribe owing to the mention of the Prastāra in v. 6*d*. Vv. 10–14 deal with the Yati or the Caesura; v. 12 (first 3 lines) seems to be a quotation—the only one if at all—from the work of some old Digambara Yati like Akalaṅka or Pūjyapāda. In v. 13 Jayakīrti mentions 10 ancient Sanskrit metricians, arranging them in two groups opposed to each other on the question of the Yati. It is curious to note that Jayadeva whom Svayambhū mentions along with Piṅgala as a staunch supporter of the Yati, is not alluded to here by Jayakīrti, even though he tells us at VIII. 19 that he had consulted Jayadeva's and other works on metre. Vv. 15–19 give the broad divisions of the Varṇa Vṛttas according as they contain from 1 to 26 letters in each of their four lines. All metres except the Daṇḍakas, having more than 26 letters in their lines, are called Mālā Vṛttas. V. 20 explains the two varieties of a Padya, namely, the Vṛtta and the Jāti; the former is based on the Akṣara Gaṇas and the latter on the Mātrā Gaṇas. Vṛtta and Jāti are each of four kinds which are enumerated in v. 21, while v. 22 broadly mentions the Jātis in Sanskrit, Prākṛta and Kannada (in *d*, some two letters are missing). V. 23 alludes to the Daṇḍakas and the Gaṇadhās and v. 24 gives some important information about the Raghaṭā or the Ragaḷe in Kannada. Raghaṭā is the name of a free verse (svacchandas) having no restriction about the number of lines contained in a stanza or a Kaḍavaka. The lines, however, must be of equal length and must resemble each other in point of both the letters and the Mātrās (*mātrākṣarasama*) and, further, must consist of couplets. It must be musical to hear (possibly *tālabaddhatā* is meant) and is the same as the Paddhati. This last point is very interesting. Paddhati is a Mātrā Vṛtta used both in Sanskrit and Prākṛta, but particularly in Apabhraṁśa poetry.[1] Paddhati or Pajjhaṭikā is very extensively used by the great Apabhraṁśa poet Puṣpadanta in the tenth century A.D. Puṣpadanta's Kaḍavas are made up of any number of couplets composed in the Pajjhaṭikā metre.[2] Like this Paddhati or Pajjhaṭikā, the Raghaṭā or Ragaḷe must be composed in couplets, as Jayakīrti tells us. But the important difference between the Paddhati and the Kannada Raghaṭā is that the former is only Mātrāsama, while the latter is required to be Mātrā-akṣara-sama.[3] In the first half of v. 25 Pāda and Padya are defined, while the second half explains the characteristic Anuprāsa of Kannada poetry which consists of the repetition of the 2nd letter at the beginning of each Pāda. It will be seen how the author's attention is mainly focussed on Kannada poetry and metres throughout in vv. 23–26 when the topic is introduced in v. 22*c*. So when he defines Cūrṇi in v. 26 as a prose passage of lovely composition full of compounds and devoid of a division into Pādas, he has mainly the Kannada prose in his mind. V. 27

[1] See Hemacandra, Chandonuśāsana (N.S.P. Ed., 1912), p. 26b, line 6; also Kavidarpaṇa (*ABORI.*, 1935), p. 84; Chandahkośa (*Bombay University Journal*, Nov. 1933, p. 58), v. 36; Gāthālakṣaṇa (*ABORI.*, 1933), v. 76; Svayambhūchandas (*Bombay University Journal*, Nov. 1936), p. 91, vv. 30-31.

[2] For this peculiarity of the Apabhraṁśa poets, cf. Apabhraṁśa Metres, II (*Bombay University Journal*, 1936, p. 67), para. 55.

[3] For a further discussion of the point and of the relationship between the Ragaḷe and the Ṣaṭpadī, see Kundangar, Sāṅgatya and Ṣaṭpadī, II (*Bombay University Journal*, May 1938), p. 116.

defines the Sama, Ardhasama and the Viṣama Vṛttas, while v. 28 says how certain well-known terms are employed to convey the different numbers like 1, 2, etc.

3. The SECOND chapter or Adhikāra defines about 264 Sanskrit metres divided into 26 main classes, beginning with Ukta and ending with Utkṛti, according as they contain from 1 to 26 letters in each of their four lines. All these are Sama Vṛttas and the definitions are given in single lines composed in the metres which are being defined, except in the case of the first 14 metres, where the definition runs over a whole stanza of the defined metre. At the end of the chapter, about eleven Mālā Vṛttas (cf. I. 19*d*) are defined; about these it is laid down that though they are generally Akṣarasama, i.e. having the same number of letters in each Pāda, yet sometimes they may even be Mātrāsama, i.e. containing the same number of Mātrās, but different number of letters. This means that the poet enjoys the privilege of substituting two short letters for one long letter whenever he likes to do so. As we shall see later on this is allowed in many cases by Jayakīrti as a source of variety and ornamentation. In the THIRD chapter, about 25 Ardhasama Vṛttas are defined, the definition containing the illustration as well. Even about these, Jayakīrti allows that they may or may not be Akṣarasama (*tad akṣarasamam hīnam adhikam ceti dṛśyate*) suggesting thereby that they must be Mātrāsama at least. In vv. 21, 22 and 25 the author quotes the authority of Pālyakīrti, Svayambhū [1] and Prajñāmahodaya in respect of the names Sunandinī, Nandinī and Cūḍāmaṇi which are respectively given to metres whose odd and even lines are made of Vaṁśastha and Indravaṁśā, Indravaṁśā and Vaṁśastha, and Indravajrā and Vasantatilaka in order. Chapter FOURTH deals with the Viṣama Vṛttas beginning with the varieties of the Anuṣṭubh (vv. 1–15). These are followed by Padacaturūrdhva together with metres derived from it (16–32), Udgatā (v. 33), Saurabhaka (v. 34), Lalita (v. 35), Kīrti [2] made popular by the poet Cārukīrti (v. 36), Upasthita-Pracupita (v. 37), Vardhamāna (v. 38), and Śuddhavirāṭ (v. 39). The FIFTH chapter is entirely devoted to the Mātrā Vṛttas, namely, the Gāthā and its derivatives (vv. 1–24), followed by Mātrāsamaka, Acaladhṛti, Upacitrā, Viśloka, Vānavāsikā, Citrā, Pādākulaka, Anaṅgakrīḍā, and Atirucirā, the last two being Dvipadis and Akṣara Vṛttas, respectively called Śikhā and Cūlikā by Piṅgala, a fact first recorded by Jayadeva and evidently copied from him by our author.

4. In chapter SIXTH Jayakīrti defines the Vaitālīya and other similar mixed Mātrā-Varṇa Vṛttas in the first 25 stanzas. He then defines the Māgadhī in v. 26; according to Virahāṅka this Māgadhī or Māgadhikā is the same as the Vaitālīya composed in the Māgadhī language.[3] Jayakīrti, however, makes it still more free and allows two short letters optionally for any one of the two long letters of the Ragaṇa in the lines of the Vaitālīya. The restriction about the language also disappears with Jayakīrti, as he has no intention of defining Prākṛta metres or, even giving any prominence to the Prākṛta languages in his treatise. In v. 27 another Mātrāvṛtta called Guṇa [4] is defined; in the 1st, 2nd and the 4th lines of this metre, 3 Caturmātra Gaṇas of any kind excepting the Jagaṇa are to be used with a

[1] See, however, Svayambhūchandas (*JBBRAS.*, 1935), p. 29, v. 3. Svayambhū's Nandinī is not an Ardhasama Vṛtta. As a matter of fact, he does not mention such combinations under the Ardhasama Vṛttas in Ch. II. Like Hemacandra, Chandonuśāsana (N.S.P. Ed., 1912), p. 7a, line 12 and Kavidarpaṇa (*ABORI.*, 1935), p. 54, v. 40, he might have treated them under the Upajātis; but this portion of his work is unfortunately not available at present.

[2] This is the third metre derived from the Udgatā by having a different set of Akṣara Gaṇas in its 3rd line. This seems to have started with the Kannada poet Cārukīrti; it is unknown to Svayambhū (*JBBRAS.*, 1935, p. 55), III, 1–6, Hemacandra, Chandonuśāsana (N.S.P. Ed., 1912), p. 23a, lines 11–16 and Kavidarpaṇa (*ABORI.*, 1936, p. 60), IV, 129, Commentary.

[3] See Vṛttajātisamuccaya (*JBBRAS.*, 1929, p. 87), note on IV, 28.

[4] This is a peculiar metre. V. 27 which defines and illustrates it contains the characteristic Kannada Anuprāsa. It is perhaps an old exclusively Kannada metre.

long letter at the end. But its 3rd line contains a pair of short letters coming after these. V. 28 contains the definition of the Dvipadī [1] and v. 29, those of Abjanāla and Kāmalekhā. Abjanāla is called Āranāla by Hemacandra (N.S.P. Ed., p. 32b, lines 2–5). The definition of Dvipadī agrees with that of Hemacandra, but it puts an additional restriction that when 4 short letters are used for the Caturmātra in the 2nd and the 6th places, the Yati must appear at the end of the 1st short letter, i.e. a word must be completed with this letter and another must begin with the 2nd letter. This rule is recommended by the older metricians in the case of the 6th Caturmātra in the 1st half of the Āryā. Jayakīrti also seems to prescribe the same in the case of the Māgadhī (v. 26*c* above). An additional rule in the case of the Dvipadī given by Jayakīrti is about the first Ṣaṭkala Gaṇa; a short letter standing in the even places of this Gaṇa must not be combined with a following short letter into a long one. In short, the 2nd and the 3rd, the 4th and the 5th and the 6th and the 7th Mātrās must not be allowed to be represented by long letters at the beginning of the lines of a Dvipadī. This seems partly to avoid a single short letter coming at the beginning of this Ṣaṭkala in accordance with the rule of Kannada prosody mentioned at VII. 3*d* below and partly to maintain the separateness [2] of this Gaṇa. The next stanza defines the Utsāha or Utsava, each of whose four lines contains 7 pairs of long and short letters coming in succession with a long letter at the end of all. But any one, or even all, of these 7 pairs may be substituted by a Nagaṇa, i.e. 3 short letters; or, in other words, any one or more of the long letters may be replaced by 2 short ones at the option of the poet. This same Utsava is called Mahotsava when the lines have a Jagaṇa followed by 6 parts of the Utsava, i.e. 6 pairs of long and short letters in succession, accompanied by a long letter at the end. But it is called Ramā when two short letters are employed for any one or more long letters in these 6 pairs. As a Varṇa Vṛtta the Mahotsava gets another name, i.e. Pañcacāmara even according to Jayakīrti, II. 203. Vv. 30 and 31 have the characteristic Kannada Anuprāsa, but v. 31 seems to be wanting in one line, either the first or the second. I am not able to understand wholly v. 32. It seemingly contains the definition of a metre called Layottara in all its five varieties (see below v. 37*c*), which are obtained by a mixture of portions of the lines of Ramā and Utsava. Each line in v. 32 appears to be made up of three parts where the 2nd and the 3rd parts have rhyming ends. The characteristic Kannada Anuprāsa is also found.[3] V. 33 gives the different kinds of the Daṇḍakas; other metricians define them at the end of the Varṇa Vṛttas, but Jayakīrti possibly gives them here owing to their value as a Tāla or Laya Vṛtta, immediately after the Layottaras. The Gadya Daṇḍakas or Gaṇadhās are defined in the next stanza (v. 34). They are of different kinds; some are Vṛtta Daṇḍakas, since they resemble the metrical Daṇḍakas in respect of their parts, but they do not follow other rules about the initial short letters, nor about the length of a Pāda, or even about the division into Pādas. Others are called Gadya Daṇḍakas when they commence with a pure prose passage, but later behave like the Vṛtta Daṇḍakas. When a Daṇḍaka is composed like an Utsava, it is called Utsava-Daṇḍaka; it is recommended for hymns in honour of great deities like Arhat. Lastly, there is the Citra Daṇḍaka whose even parts are made up of any Caturmātras except the Jagaṇa,

[1] For a discussion of the name and varieties of this metre, see Apabhraṁśa Metres, II (*Bombay University Journal*, Nov. 1930, p. 49), para. 43.

[2] In Mātrā and Tāla Vṛttas the Mātrā and Tāla Gaṇas must have their separateness maintained by avoiding a long letter at their junctions; cf. Apabhraṁśa Metres (*Bombay University Journal*, Nov. 1933, p. 38), para. 13.

[3] In the last line of v. 32 the MS. reads *tam īritam*; but this is metrically as well as grammatically incorrect. We should expect *tad īritam* if at all; hence I propose *tat sam īritam* which corrects both the mistakes and also secures the Kannada Anuprāsa.

while the Caturmātras in the odd places are generally the Jagaṇa or all short letters. Vv. 35–37 recount the metres that are defined in the chapter. Jayakīrti has followed this practice in Chs. IV to VI only.

5. The SEVENTH chapter exclusively deals with a few characteristic Kannada metres. Thus it defines three kinds of a Tripadī (vv. 9–14), five main kinds of a Sama Catuṣpadī with five subdivisions of one of them, namely, the Akṣara (vv. 4–8; 15-16; 18-19), one kind of an Ardhasama Catuṣpadī (v. 20) and one kind of a Ṣaṭpadī (v. 17). Every one of these shows the characteristic Anuprāsa on the 2nd syllable at the commencement of a line. A line of these metres is made up of peculiarly formed Akṣara Gaṇas which are explained in detail in vv. 2-3. There are three kinds of such Gaṇas called Rati, Madana and Śara; *sometimes* they are designated by the synonyms of these words or, by the letters *ra*, *la* and *dha* respectively. All these generally begin with a long letter and then they respectively contain 2, 3 and 4 letters; but sometimes, this initial long letter is replaced by two short letters, while the other letters are kept either short or long according to the will of the poet. When this is done, naturally, the Gaṇas respectively contain 3, 4 and 5 letters in them. In short, every Gaṇa must have 1 long or 2 short letters at the beginning and then the remaining letters may either be short or long, their number and not the quality being restricted in each Gaṇa as said above. Thus owing to the option of the substitution of two short letters for one long at the beginning of a Gaṇa and also owing to the option allowed in the case of the other letters, namely, that they can either be short or long, the three Gaṇas can be respectively formed in 4, 8 and 16 ways.[1]

6. We shall now take up the metres defined by Jayakīrti and we shall begin with the Tripadī. The three kinds of a Tripadī are Citrā, Vicitrā and Elā. The three [2] lines of Tripadī are as a rule made up of 4, 4 and 3 Gaṇas which are of the Madana type with the exception of the 6th and the 10th which must be of the Rati type (*dig-rasa-ratiḥ*). When the 7th and the 11th Madana Gaṇas begin with two short letters (*lādi-giri-hara-aṃśā*) in a Tripadī, it is called Citrā (v. 9). But it is called Vicitrā when the 11th Gaṇa is a Śara Gaṇa beginning with a long letter, instead of the usual Madana Gaṇa (v. 10). The largest number of Mātrās which a Citrā may have [3] is 62. This number of Mātrās, namely 62, may sometimes decrease when short letters are used in the 2nd and the subsequent places in the different Gaṇas according to the option allowed. But it may also increase in the case of Vicitrā by 2; in any case the number of Mātrās is immaterial, says Jayakīrti, if the necessary things as explained in the Sūtra (v. 9) are there. This means that Tripadī is not a Mātrā Vṛtta, much less a Tāla Vṛtta. If all short letters are employed in a Tripadī, the number of Mātrās will be 42 as said and illustrated in v. 12 (where *laghu* stands for 1 Mātrā; *ṛtu-hata-giri* is $6 \times 7 = 42$; Yatipati is either Jaya-

[1] For a detailed discussion about these Gaṇas, see Kundangar, *Karṇāṭaka-Viṣaya-Jāti* (*Bombay University Journal*, Sept. 1940), pp. 170–172.

[2] As a matter of fact, however, a Tripadī seems to have been regarded as containing 4 lines instead of 3 as signified by the name. The first line of 4 Gaṇas was divided into two smaller ones of equal length, i.e. each containing 2 Gaṇas, and the characteristic Anuprāsa was also introduced, thus making the separation almost complete. Even Jayakīrti has followed this practice and so in v. 9*a*, we get the composition of the 4 lines as containing 2, 2, 4 and 3 Aṁśas respectively (*kara-kara-abdhi-triaṁśa-caraṇā*). The Anuprāsa in the first 2 lines according to this scheme is found in all the stanzas which illustrate and define the Tripadīs, namely 9–14, in Jayakīrti's work.

[3] I propse to read *dvāṣaṣṭyā* for *ardhaṣaṣṭyā* of the MS., firstly because v. 11 is intended to be an illustration of the Citrā with 62 Mātrās according to the usual practice of the author; consequently, all letters in all the Gaṇas are expected to be long with the exception of the 7th and the 11th Gaṇas which must be *lādi* (they are *kvacid asyāḥ* and *kim amūbhiḥ*); and secondly because the reading *ardhaṣaṣṭyā* would give a Śara where a Madana is expected according to the definition.

kīrti himself or perhaps Pūjyapāda). If short letters are not employed in a Tripadī, it may nevertheless not contain *all* long letters, since at the 7th and the 11th places, a Lagaṇa, i.e. a Madana Gaṇa, which begins with a long letter is prohibited as explained in v. 13, and so it must have at least 4 short letters in it. V. 14 defines Elā as a Tripadī which is deserted by her 3rd Pāda, i.e. the Pāda which contains 4 Gaṇas, out of its four Pādas as explained on p. 5, n. 2 (*tṛtīyāṁhrau apamuñcati* 'when the third Pāda deserts her'). Thus Elā contains the first two Pādas of 2 Gaṇas each and the last Pāda of 3 Gaṇas, out of the 4 Pādas of a Tripadī. The rule about the use of the Rati Gaṇa at the 6th and the 10th places and the rule about the use of a *Lādi* Madana Gaṇa at the 7th and the 11th places are now applicable only so far as the 10th and the 11th Gaṇas are concerned, because the 3rd Pāda containing all Gaṇas from the 5th to the 8th has disappeared and Elā simply does not contain them. Thus the rule about the 6th and the 7th Gaṇas is inoperative in the case of the Elā Tripadī as it does not contain them. V. 14 contains the illustration of Elā (*geya* is the Rati at the 10th place and *vidajanaiḥ* is the *lādi* Madana Gaṇa at the 11th place) with the characteristic Anuprāsa. The first two Pādas contain 2 Madana Gaṇas each, while the last contains 3 Gaṇas, the 2nd of which is Rati, and the others are Madanas. Śārṅgadeva's definitions [1] of Tripadī and Elā very well agree with the interpretation which I am putting upon Jayakīrti's words in vv. 9 and 14.

7. Akṣara is the first and perhaps the oldest of the five main kinds of Catuṣpadī defined by Jayakīrti. It is itself of five kinds differentiated from each other by the length of their lines.[2] The shortest is the Alpākṣara (v. 4). It contains a pair of the Madana Gaṇas followed by a Śara Gaṇa in each line. It is well known in the Kannada poems like the Śṛṅgārapiṇḍa Kāvya (v. 4). The second is the Antarākṣara; its line contains 1 Rati, followed by 2 Madanas and 1 Śara at the end. It is well known from the Karṇāṭeśvarakathā and other Jain poems (v. 5). The third is Madhyamākṣara; its line has 1 Rati, followed by 3 Madanas and 1 Śara at the end. It is illustrated in the Kannada Mālatī-Mādhava Kāvya (v. 6). The fourth is the Samānākṣara; its line has 2 Madanas, 1 Rati, 2 Madanas and 1 Rati in succession. It is employed by the poet Asaga in his Kannada Kumārasaṁbhava Kāvya (v. 7). The fifth and the last variety of Akṣara is the Mahākṣara; its line contains 1 Rati, followed by 5 Madanas and 1 Śara at the end; or, 2 Ratis, 1 Madana, 1 Rati, 2 Madanas and 1 Śara in succession; or, 6 Madanas followed by 1 Śara at the end (v. 8). In all the varieties of the Akṣara, Jayakīrti recommends that there should be a Yati at the end of every Gaṇa.[3] The next Catuṣpadī is the Catuṣpadikā which is well known from the Cūḍāmaṇi Kāvya; its line contains 1 Madana followed by 1 Śara only (v. 15). This is the shortest of all the Catuṣpadīs defined by Jayakīrti. The line of Chandovataṁsa, which Jayakīrti is pleased to call Ādivarāhā, has 1 Madana, followed by 4 Ratis only; it is seen in the (Kannada) Kumārasaṁbhava Kāvya (v. 16). In the Catuṣpadī called Madanavatī, every line must contain 22 Mātrās only, irrespective of the number of letters which it may contain; but the 1st line must have 20 short letters followed by one long letter, while the other lines must each have 4 Madanas followed by 1 Rati. In no case, however, is the

[1] See the quotations from the Saṅgītaratnākara in the foot-note under these stanzas.

[2] The five kinds respectively contain 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 Gaṇas and in four out of five cases have significant adjectives applied to their common name Akṣara; these are Alpa, Antara, Madhyama and Mahat. The fifth name Samāna Akṣara has no reference to the length of the line, but perhaps alludes to the balanced arrangement of the Madanas and the Ratis. 2 Madanas and 1 Śara is the basis; to this are added in succession 1 Rati; 1 pair of Rati and Madana; 2 pairs of Rati and Madana (but dropping the Śara); and either 1 Rati and 3 Madanas, or, 3 Ratis and 1 Madana, or all the 4 Madanas.

[3] I am at present unable to see the point of this recommendation which, by the bye, is not observed by Jayakīrti himself in his illustrations.

rule of 22 Mātrās in a line to be violated; consequently the 4 Madanas together must not contain more than 18 Mātrās, the last 4 being required by the Rati (v. 19). The rule is, of course, strictly observed by Jayakīrti in the verse itself which defines the metre. The last Catuṣpadī defined by Jayakīrti is the Akṣarikā [1]; its line contains 1 pair of Madana and Rati at the beginning, another at the middle, and a pair of Madanas followed by a long letter at the end. But all these Gaṇas together must make neither more nor less than 26 Mātrās, so that the stanza as a whole contains the definite number of Mātrās, namely 104. In every line the Yati occurs twice, i.e. after every 8 Mātrās. Instead of the Akṣara Gaṇas mentioned above, the line of the Akṣarikā may even be made up of any Caturmātras except the Jagaṇa, followed by a long letter; the number of the Caturmātras will of course be 6, so as to make up the 26 Mātrās required in the line (v. 18).

8. The only Ardhasama Catuṣpadī which Jayakīrti defines is the Gītikā in v. 20, which according to him is described by the followers of Prabhusena in the Alaṅkāra (Kāvya? or, a work on metre?). Its odd lines contain 3 Gaṇas each, while the even ones contain 4 Gaṇas each. Of these 7 Gaṇas in each half, the 2nd and the 6th are the Ragaṇas, i.e. the Ratis, while all the remaining ones may optionally be Lagaṇas, i.e. the Madanas or, Dhagaṇas, i.e. the Śaras. In the first half of v. 20, *tiye* and *pañca* are the Ratis in the 2nd and the 6th places, while in the second half, they are *samapā* and *kāre* respectively; similarly, in the first half, the 1st and the 3rd are the Madanas and all the rest, i.e. 4th, 5th and 7th, are the Śaras. In the second half, the 1st and the 4th are the Madanas, while the others, i.e. 3rd, 5th and 7th, are the Śara Gaṇas. Jayakīrti defines only one Ṣaṭpadī in v. 17 and it is called the Ṣaṭpadikā itself. Each of its two halves consists of 3 lines, respectively containing 2, 2 and 3 Gaṇas, which are all of them the Madanas except the last Gaṇa in each half which must be a Śara alone. In the illustration-verse, i.e. v. 17, all the Madanas are *lādi* except the 6th in the first half. In v. 21, Jayakīrti mentions a rule which is necessitated by the peculiar nature of the Ādi Anuprāsa of Kannada poetry. According to this rule, if the first line of a stanza begins with a long letter, the other ones also must begin similarly. If, on the other hand, it begins with two short letters, others must do the same thing. In the last or the EIGHTH chapter of his work, Jayakīrti explains the six Pratyayas beginning with Prastāra and ending with the Adhvan, for the details of which given from the Vṛttajātisamuccaya, see *JBBRAS.*, 1932, pp. 1–11.

9. In the metres thus far examined, it is clear that they are most of them pure Akṣara Vṛttas, but not Akṣara-Gaṇa Vṛttas like the Classical Sanskrit metres. The formation of the Gaṇas itself shows no influence whatsoever of either the Sanskrit or the Prākṛta metres. Here and there, Mātrās representing syllabic quantity are mentioned in the formation of metrical lines, but they are far too few to be taken into account in considering the influence of the Sanskrit and Prākṛta metres on the Kannada metres. And besides the Mātrās that are mentioned in such connection are really the Kāla-Mātrās which are necessary for a Tāla Vṛtta and not the Varṇa[2]-

[1] The MS. reads *akṣatikā* both here and at VII. 1. But evidently in both places the scribe has read *ta* for *ra*. The name Akṣarikā is a diminutive feminine form of the name Akṣara. Does it bear any connection with the metre Akṣara described above? If so, it may perhaps suggest the delicacy and charm due to the absence of a Śara Gaṇa, which generally exists in the Akṣara, as also to the commanding position of the Rati, and the Laya or Tālabaddhatā of the Akṣarikā. This last is also suggested by Jayakīrti in his alternative recommendation for the formation of its lines, with the help of the Caturmātras.

[2] I have attempted to show the distinction between a Varṇa-Mātrā and a Kāla-Mātrā in para. 11 of my article "Apabhraṁśa Metres, III (Mātrā Vṛttas and Tāla Vṛttas)". This article was sent for publication in the Radha Kumud Mookerji Memorial Volume, on 7th February, 1943. Since then I have been eagerly awaiting its publication, particularly so, because I have referred to portions of this article in my subsequent writings and I feel greatly annoyed to see that it itself has not yet seen the light of the day!

Mātrās. See below para. 10. In general, a letter short or long is considered as a metrical unit as in the case of the Vedic metres; but even the Vedic metres, whose basic lines contained 5, 8, 10, 11 or 12 letters, do not appear to have anything to do with the development of the old Kannada metres. And this is what might be expected in view of the fact that the Kannada language does not belong to the Indo-Aryan family of languages. Sanskrit as the national language of the learned was studied from one corner of India to the other; but the Prakrits which were mainly imported by the Digambara Jainas (and perhaps even the Sanskrit dramatists) into the South, found no fertile soil among the masses who spoke a language which was wholly unconnected with either Sanskrit or the Prakrits. Consequently, the Prakrits did not grow and become transformed into the provincial languages through the medium of the Apabhraṁśa, as they did in the North. Sanskrit and the Prakrits were studied in the South as a sort of necessity like the English language today; but they could not influence the thought or the language of the masses, beyond a certain measure. Thus the Kannada metres do not show any considerable influence of either the Sanskrit or the Prakrit metres. The music with which the Kannada metres are associated is neither Varṇa Sangīta of the Classical Sanskrit metres[1] nor the Tāla Sangita of the Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa metres. It is more allied with the Svara Sangīta of the Vedic metres. The old Kannada metres appear to have very little to do with the popular music, namely, the Tāla Sangīta. A letter, short or long, when considered as a metrical unit, leaves no scope for the Tāla Sangīta, since the pronunciation of a letter is not uniformly associated with a particular measure of time. A short letter takes less time, while a long one takes naturally more. The unit of the Tāla Sangīta is a uniform measure of time called Mātrā or Kāla-Mātrā which may either be silent or accompanied by the pronunciation of letters guided or controlled by the consideration of these measuring units. If the vocal music is to be harnessed to the Tāla Sangīta, it is first necessary to fix up the time value of the different kinds of letters. When this is done, it is not the letter which remains the metrical unit, but it is the syllabic quantity or Varṇa-Mātrā which becomes so; for, owing to the uniform nature of this syllabic quantity, it can be associated with the uniform Kāla-Mātrā which is the basis of the Tāla Sangīta. There is indeed another and easier way of harnessing the vocal music to the Tāla Sangīta; it is an irregular pronunciation of short and long letters. But this is resorted to only by the ignorant, and learned Pandits will never like to adopt it.

10. In the case of the old Kannada metres defined by Jayakīrti, this process of harnessing the Svara to the Tāla Sangīta seems to have already begun; yet it has evidently made little progress. Most of the 14 pure Kannada metres defined in Ch. VII are not amenable to the Tāla Sangīta, since their unit is a letter, short or long, and not a Varṇa-Mātrā. Only two, namely, the Akṣarikā (v. 18) and the Madanavatī (v. 19), can be sung to the accompaniment of Tāla. Both of them can be sung in the Tāla[2] of 8 Mātrās (cf. v. 18*c*; the Yati is to occur after every 8 Mātrās), but in the case of the former, a silent pause of 6 Mātrās has to be introduced at the end of each line, and in the case of the latter a similar pause of 2 Mātrās has to be adopted to keep up the Tāla which will otherwise be disturbed. The *prathita-yati* in v. 19*d* is evidently the Yati mentioned in the last stanza. The remaining 12 metres are not amenable to any Tāla owing to the option about the choice of short or long letters, which is allowed in the formation of their component Gaṇas. It

[1] See my article on "Metres and Music" published in the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VIII (1943), pp. 202–213, for the different kinds of music and their association with the different metres in Ancient India.

[2] See Apabhraṁśa Metres, para. 18 (*Bombay University Journal*, Nov. 1933, p. 43), for the different basic Tālas used in musical metres.

is true that any metre can be subjected to the Tāla, as said above, with the help of incorrect pronunciation of short and long letters and of the introduction of irregular silent pauses or a voiced extension of pronounced syllables. But we must consider whether such a mutilation was intended by the poet when he composed his verse; and it is amply clear that this is not so in the case of 12 out of the 14 metres defined in Ch. VII. On the other hand, it is equally true that the Tāla Sangīta has already caught the fancy of the old Kannada poets. The Varṇa Vṛttas defined in Ch. VI. 30–34 are clearly intended to be sung in the Tāla of 6 or 5 Mātrās as the case may be. The Utsavas, the Ramā and the five Layottaras are to be sung in the Tāla of 6 Mātrās, while the Daṇḍakas and the Gaṇadhās are generally sung in the Tāla of 5 Mātrās, because the Gaṇas of which their lines are made are generally Pañca-Mātrika, namely, Yagaṇa, Ragaṇa and Tagaṇa. When these are Catur-Mātrika, the Tāla will be one of 8 Mātrās. In the case of the Utsava Daṇḍaka, the Tāla will be of 6 Mātrās like the Tāla of the Utsava itself.

11. Jayakīrti was a Jaina monk belonging to the Digambara sect. He belonged to the South and his mother tongue was Kannada. He mentions about twenty older metricians, six or seven old Kannada poems and only one poet, namely Asaga, as the author of the Karṇāṭa-Kumārasaṁbhava Kāvya. One curious fact about the old metricians Kambala and Aśvatara ought to be noted. These two are mentioned together as *viṣadharau*, or *bhujagādhipau*, by Virahāṅka as understood by his commentator.[1] But Jayakīrti ranges them in opposite camps at Ch. I. 13 on the question of Yati. Most of the metricians and poems are mere names to us and do not help in fixing the upper limit of the date of Jayakīrti. If, however, Svayambhūdeva and Asaga mentioned by Jayakīrti are to be identified with the authors of the Svayambhūchandas and Vardhamānacaritra respectively, the upper limit of Jayakīrti's date may be fixed at 1000 A.D. At any rate his mention of the Kannada Mālatī-Mādhava Kāvya, which is evidently based on Bhavabhūti's Mālatī-Mādhava, shows that Jayakīrti is not much older than this date. His lower limit is furnished by the date of the Jesalmere manuscript, i.e. Saṁ 1190. He must thus be roughly assigned to the eleventh century A.D.[2]

12. The following is an alphabetical list of the authors mentioned by Jayakīrti: Aśvatara I. 13; Asaga Kavi (author of Karṇāṭa-Kumārasaṁbhava) VII. 7; Kapila I. 13; Kambala I. 13; Kohala I. 13; Kauṇḍinya I. 13; Cārukīrti Muni IV. 36; Janāśraya VIII. 19; Jayadeva Budha VIII. 19; Muni Damasāgara II. 148; Piṅgala I. 13; IV. 6; V. 32, 36; VIII. 19; Pālyakīrti III. 21; Pūjyapāda VIII. 19; Prajñāmahodaya III. 25; V. 28; Prabhuseniyaiḥ VII. 20; Bharata I. 13; Māṇḍavya I. 13; VIII. 19; Vasiṣṭha I. 13; Śrīpurāṇakavipuṅgava (does this mean the author of Śrīpurāṇa, or does it merely refer to older poets in general?) VI. 24; Saitava I. 13; IV. 17; VIII. 19; Svayambhudeveśa III. 22. At VII. 15 a *karṇāṭachandomata* is alluded to; it is difficult to say whether a particular work on Kannada metres is meant here. The statement appears to me to be too general to admit of a reference to a particular work of any author.[3] The following Kāvyas are mentioned: Alaṁkāra (?) VII. 16; Karṇāṭa-Kumārasaṁbhava VII. 7 and VII. 12; Karṇāṭa-Mālatīmādhava Kāvya VII. 6; Karṇāṭeśvarakathā (Ārhata) VII. 5; Gograha (Kāvya ?) VI. 30; Mahārhad-devatāstava VI. 34; Śṛṅgārapiṇḍa Kāvya VII. 4.

[1] On Vṛttajātisamuccaya, I. 31 and II. 7-8 (*JBBRAS.*, 1929, pp. 80-81).

[2] Prof. D. L. Narasimhachar of Mysore, to whom I had sent a copy of Ch. VII at his request, thinks that Jayakīrti knew Nāgavarman's Chandombudhi which is assigned to A.D. 900 and that the words *karṇāṭachandomate* occurring at VII. 9 refer to this work. He further thinks that the Cūḍāmaṇi mentioned at VII. 15 is the work of a Kannada poet Kandarpa, who flourished about 1000 A.D. I am thankful to Prof. Narasimhachar and his friend N. Shivarama Sastry for this and other information supplied to me by them in connection with the interpretation of the seventh chapter of this work.

[3] See, however, note No. 2 above.

जयकीर्तिकृतं छन्दोऽनुशासनम् ।

प्रथमोऽधिकारः ।

श्रीवर्धमानमानम्य छन्दसां पूर्वमक्षरम् ।
लक्ष्यलक्षणमावीक्ष्य वक्ष्ये छन्दोऽनुशासनम् ॥ १ ॥
छन्दःशास्त्रं वहित्रं तद्विविक्षोः काव्यसागरम् ।
छन्दोभाग् वाङ्मयं सर्वं न किंचिच्छन्दसा विना ॥ २ ॥
नागरऋकारवक्रो गुरुर्द्विमात्रो गसंज्ञको ज्ञेयः ।
लघुरेकमात्रिकः स्यादृजुरूर्ध्वाङ्गुलनिभो लसंज्ञश्च ॥ ३ ॥
दीर्घो गुरुः प्लुतोऽपि ह्रस्वो लघुरेष वा गुरुः पादान्ते ।
संयोगविसर्गानुस्वारव्यञ्जनपरो गुरुः स्याद् ह्रस्वः ॥ ४ ॥

संयोगपरोऽपि जातु वर्णः
शैथिल्याल्लघुतामुपैति तस्मात् ।
भाषाविषयेऽन्यथा जगद्वा-
ण्येदोदौ तु गुरू लघू च दृष्टौ ॥ ५ ॥

मयरसतजभनवर्णा भूतोयानलमरुन्नभोऽर्केन्दुदिवः ।
वृत्तगणाः क्रमशोऽष्टौ प्रस्तारे विद्धि मध्यमच्छन्दसि तान् ॥ ६ ॥

गुरोरधस्ताल्लधुमादितः क्षिपेत्
परं लिखेदूर्ध्वसमं पुनस्तथा ।
पाश्चात्यखण्डं गुरुणा प्रपूरयेत्
यावद्गणः सर्वलघुत्वमाप्यते ॥ ७ ॥

सर्वगुरुर्मगणः क्षितिरादिलघुर्यः पयोगणो ज्ञेयः ।
मध्यलघू रोऽग्निः स्यादन्तगुरुः सो मरुन्नाम्ना ॥ ८ ॥
अन्तलघुस्तगणः खं मध्यगुरुर्जगण उच्यते सूर्यः ।
आदिगुरुर्भश्चन्द्रः सर्वलनः स्वस्त्रिकाः सर्वेऽपि ॥ ९ ॥
वाग्विरामो यतिः स्यात्खं स्थाप्यते श्रुतिसुन्दरम् ।
पादान्ते सूचितस्थाने युक्पादान्ते विशेषतः ॥ १० ॥
सन्धिविकारः समभर इत्येकोऽर्थस्तथेष्यतेऽत्र विरामः ।
लुप्तविभक्तिकपदमिति समासपदमुच्यते यथा तत्र यतिः ॥ ११ ॥

सच्चारित्राण्यघकुलहराण्यर्हतोऽन्यत्र न स्युः
तत्रैवाप्तप्रवचनपदार्थाश्च युक्त्या घटन्ते ।
तस्मात्तन्निश्चितमिति विनेयाः श्रयन्त्यात्मवन्तो
यत्युक्तोदाहरणमिदमित्यादिरस्ति प्रयोगः ॥ १२ ॥

वाञ्छन्ति यतिं पिङ्गलवसिष्ठकौण्डिन्यकपिलकम्बलमुनयः ।
नेच्छन्ति भरतकोहलमाण्डव्याश्वतरसैतवाद्याः केचित् ॥ १३ ॥

पृथग्विधानाद्वचनाविशेषः
फलं कवेर्लक्षणमाद्यमेव ।
प्राग्वद्यतिर्नाम च नान्यथात्र
लोकप्रसिद्धौ न कुतो विवादः ॥ १४ ॥

उक्तमेकाक्षरं छन्दोऽत्युक्तं तद् द्व्यक्षरं तथा ।
मध्यमं त्र्यक्षरं छन्दः प्रतिष्ठा चतुरक्षरी ॥ १५ ॥
सुप्रतिष्ठा पञ्चाक्षरी गायत्री तु षडक्षरी ।
उष्णिक् सप्ताक्षरी ज्ञेयानुष्टुबष्टाक्षरी ततः ॥ १६ ॥
बृहती नवाक्षरी स्यात्पङ्क्तिस्तु दशाक्षरी ततस्त्रिष्टुप् ।
एकादशाक्षरीत्यपि शेषाश्चैकैकवृद्धाः स्युः ॥ १७ ॥
जगती तथातिजगती शक्वर्यतिशक्वरी ततश्चाष्टिः ।
अत्यष्टिर्धृतिरतिधृतिरतः कृतिः प्रकृतिराकृतिर्विकृतिश्च ॥ १८ ॥
संकृतिरभिकृतिरुत्कृतिरिति षड्विंशतिरनुक्रमाच्छन्दांसि ।
वृत्तानीह भवन्ति हि षड्विंशति तत्परं तु मालावृत्तम् ॥ १९ ॥
वृत्तं जातिरिति द्वेधा पद्यं तत्तु चतुष्पदी ।
गणबद्धं तथा वृत्तं जातिर्मात्रागणाश्रिता ॥ २० ॥
वृत्तं सममर्धसमं विषमं मालाख्यमिति चतुर्धा ; जातिः ।
आर्या मात्रासमकं वैतालीयं द्विपद्यपीति चतुर्धा ॥ २१ ॥
संस्कृतवाच्यार्याद्याः प्राकृतविषये तु गलितकाद्या बहुधा ।
कर्णाटकेऽक्षराद्या विषये × × शीर्षकादिजातय उदिताः ॥ २२ ॥
दण्डकाश्चण्डवृष्ट्याद्याः पादांशनियमोदिताः ।
अपादनियमाश्चोक्ता गणधा गद्यदण्डकाः ॥ २३ ॥
स्वच्छन्दःसंज्ञा रघटा मात्राक्षरसमोदिताः ।
पादद्वन्द्वसमाकीर्णा सुश्रव्या सैव पद्धतिः ॥ २४ ॥

पादा(r. दोऽ)क्षरमात्रानियमोदितपिण्डोऽथ पादवत्पद्यं स्यात् ।
पादद्वितीयवर्णः पादं पादं य एति सोऽनुप्रासः ॥ २५ ॥
गद्यं हृद्यमपादोक्तिसमासपदसंचितम् ।
ततोऽन्यच्चूर्णिरित्युक्ता वचनं वाक्यबन्धुरम् ॥ २६ ॥
सममेकेन द्वाभ्यामर्धसमं दृश्यते चतुर्भिः पादैः ।
विषमं जातिश्च तथा प्रस्तारप्रत्यये यथा तद्व्याप्तिः ॥ २७ ॥
एकद्विञ्यादिसंख्यार्थं चन्द्रनेत्रपुरादिकम् ।
छन्दोऽर्थं गृह्यते लोकान्नाप्रयुक्तं प्रयुज्यते ॥ २८ ॥
इति जयकीर्तिकृतौ छन्दोऽनुशासने संज्ञाधिकारः प्रथमः ॥

षष्ठोऽधिकारः ।

अयुजोर्लघवोऽष्ट दश युजो-
न्लौं जो वा गुरुणा तदन्तयोः ।
न्लगणे तु तदादिलघुयति-
र्न विषमलघुतोऽत्रेति मागधी ॥ २६ ॥
तोयधिमात्रगणत्रितयाद्-
गो यदि नात्र जकारगणः ।
स्थायितृतीयपदाल्लयुगे सति
सोऽयमभाणि गुणो गुणिभिः ॥ २७ ॥
षट्कलतश्चतुष्कलगणाः पञ्चैव गुरूत्तरास्तथा ।
जो न्लगणोऽथवा द्वितीये षष्ठे च न चेतरत्र जः ॥
न्ले सति तत्र कररसस्थाने प्रथमलघौ तु यतिरसौ ।
स्याद् द्विपदीति षट्कलगणे ल्न समोऽत्र परेण युज्यते ॥ २८ ॥
प्राक्तनलक्षणद्विपदिकानियमः सकलः स वर्ततेऽस्मिन्
व्यक्तमतोऽधिके सति गुरौ प्रतिपादमितीदमब्जनालम् ।
षड्गणान्तलघुविहीना चेत्प्रथमद्विपदिकासौ
निश्चितशेषलक्षणयुता भवतीति हि कामलेखा ॥ २९ ॥

ऊह्हितोक्तितो गलांशसप्तकं निरन्तरं
गो ह्हि नैधने नकारसप्तकं यदाथवा ।
व्याह्हितं तदुभयमिश्रसप्तकं तदा तथो-
त्साहमाहुरुत्सवं च गोग्रहादिके बुधाः ॥ ३० ॥

महोत्सवो जकारतः सगोत्सवांशषट्कये
× × × × ।
जकारतो ग्लयुग्मकं नकारगणविकल्पितं
स्वकारि गुरुपरं यदा प्रकाशयते तदा रमा ॥ ३१ ॥

उत्सवांह्रिपूर्वकं यदा रमांह्रिकोत्तरं रमांह्रियुगलकोत्तरम् ।
प्रोत्समान्तरिततदंह्रिकोत्सवांह्रिनैधनं रमांह्रिरिति च नैधनम् ॥
यत्सुमोदयज्जनं रमैकपाददलपरं तथोत्सवादि वा परम् ।
त(+त्स)मीरितं लयानुगामि यमकवत्तरं विचित्रगति लयोत्तरम् ॥ ३२ ॥

नगणयुगलतोऽथ रैः सप्तभिर्दण्डकश्चण्डवृष्टिप्रपातस्तथैकोत्तरम् ।
प्रतिचरणरवृद्धयोऽर्णार्णवव्यालजीमूतलीलाकरोद्दामशङ्खादयः ॥
प्रचित इति नयुग्मतो यैस्तथान्यैरमिश्रीकृतैस्तत्प्रमाणैर्यदोत्पद्यते ।
शरगिरिगतिलोकलघ्वादिकाश्चण्डवाताब्दसिंहाह्वयास्तेन्वितांशोत्तराः ॥ ३३ ॥

चण्डवृष्ट्यादिकादौ लघूक्तौ नियामोऽत्र यो वर्जयित्वेति तं पण्डितैः
श्रव्यरेफादिभिर्दण्डकांशैस्तथा केवलैर्ये कृताः ।
दण्डका वृत्तशब्दादिका वृत्तवत्ते हि पादोक्तलक्ष्मेतरा दण्डका
ये तु ते गद्यपूर्वाश्च मालादिकास्तेऽथवानेकधा ॥
यस्तथोत्सवोक्तगणमयो गुरूत्तरः स चोत्सवाभिधानदण्डको
महार्हदादिदेवतास्तवे स्मृतः ।
जगणेतराब्धिमात्रागणोऽत्र भृशमयुजि धाम्नि भवति जगणोऽथवा
न्लगण एष निधने गुरुश्च तु हि चित्रदण्डकः ॥ ३४ ॥

वैतालीयमतः समवैतालीयं च विषमवैतालीयम् ।
औपच्छन्दसिकापातलिके च यथा त्रिधा त्रिधा नवधेति ॥ ३५ ॥
तत्तत्त्रिपञ्चकं प्राच्यवृत्तिसंज्ञाप्युदीच्यवृत्तिश्च ।
सार्धं प्रवर्त्तने(r. के)नापरान्तिका चारुहासिनीति जिनमिताः ॥ ३६ ॥

मागधिका गुणजातिर्द्विपदीत्रयमुत्सवद्वितयमपि च रमा ।
पञ्चलयोत्तरविधयोऽपि चण्डवृष्टचादिदण्डका गणधोक्ताः ॥ ३७ ॥

इति जयकीर्तिकृतौ छन्दोऽनुशासने मिश्राधिकारः षष्ठः ॥

सप्तमोऽधिकारः ।

वक्ष्येऽक्षरत्रिपद्येलाक्षरिकाषट्पदीचतुष्पदिकाः ।
छन्दोऽवतंससंज्ञा मदनवतीगीतिकादिमपि कर्णाटे ॥ १ ॥
रलधा रतिमदनशरा द्वित्रिचतुर्गादयोऽब्धिवसुनृपसंख्याः ।
प्रस्तारे पूर्वगुरोरधो लघू द्वौ परस्य चैकैकलघुः ॥ २ ॥
द्वित्रिचतुर्वर्णा गाद्यास्त्रिचतुःपञ्चवर्णका लादिगणाः ।
क्रमशो रलधेषु भवन्त्येकैकलघुर्न वर्ततेऽत्र गणादौ ॥ ३ ॥
अ**ङ्ग**जगणयुगाद्बाणगणे । स**ङ्ग**ते प्रतिपादमल्पाक्षरम् ॥
शृ**ङ्गा**रपिण्डादिकाव्येषु तत् । स**ङ्गी**तं कर्णाटके प्रसिद्धम् ॥ ४ ॥

य**दि** तु रतिगणः पादादौ पादमध्ये ।
म**द**नगणयुगं पादान्ते बाणगणम् ॥
त**दि**दमन्तराक्षरमक्षरज्ञा (r. ज्ञै) र्गीतं
वि**दि**तमार्हते कर्णाटेश्वरकथादौ ॥ ५ ॥
प्र**थ**मे रतिरेव मन्मथः स्याद्द्वितीये तृतीये- ।
प्य**थ** चतुर्थे बाणगणस्तु पञ्चमस्थान एव ॥
ग्र**थि**तं लक्षणमिति यस्य तन्मध्यमाक्षराख्यं ।
प्र**थि**तं कर्णाटमालतीमाधवप्रभृतिकाव्ये ॥ ६ ॥
र**ति**पतिगणयुग्माद्रतितः स्मरयुग्मं रतिरपि (add च पुनः) ।
प्र**ति**पादं वर्तते यस्मिंस्तत्समानाक्षरं नाम ॥
श्रु**ति**कान्तमक्षरदक्षैरादृतमसगाख्यकविना ।
प्र**ति**पादितं ननु कर्णाटकुमारसंभवकाव्ये ॥ ७ ॥

आदौ रतिगणो मध्येऽत्र स्मरगणपञ्चकमन्ते तु बाणगणः ।
पादेष्विह रतिर्वा द्वितीये तुर्ये च स्थाने तन्महाक्षराख्यम् ॥
पादादिप्रभृतीति केवलं स्मरगणषट्कयं बाणान्तं केचिदाहुः ।
पादे पादेऽत्र प्रतिगणमपि यतिर्लक्ष्यते सर्वेषामक्षराणाम् ॥ ८ ॥

करकराब्धित्र्यंश- । चरणा दिग्रसरतिः ॥
स्मरमयी लादिगिरिहरांशा चान्त- ॥
विरमणाच्चित्रा त्रिपदिका[1] ॥ ९ ॥

सर्वलक्षणमत्र । पूर्ववद्धरधाम्नि ॥
गुर्वादिबाणगणभाग् विचित्रा स्यात् ॥
पूर्वं कर्णाटच्छन्दोमते ॥ १० ॥

मात्राभिर[2]र्धषष्ट्या । चित्रा स्यादित्येवम् ॥
मात्रा वर्धन्ते क्वचिदस्या न्यूनास्ताः ॥
सूत्रं पूर्वोक्तं किममूभिः ॥ ११ ॥

ऋतुहतगिरिपरि- । मितलघुरियमथ ॥
यतियुतिरखिलगुरुरिह न भवति ॥
यतिपतिगदितमत इति ॥ १२ ॥

सर्वलघुर्न चेत् । सर्वया त्रिपदिका ॥
सर्वगुरुस्तु न भवेद्गिरीशयो-
गुर्वादिलगणप्रतिषेधात् ॥ १३ ॥

त्रिपदी तृतीयांह्रा- । वपमुञ्चत्येलेति ॥
सुपठि[3]ता गेयविदजनैः ॥ १४ ॥

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[1] आद्यौ द्विद्विगणौ पादौ तृतीयश्च चतुर्गणः ।
चतुर्थस्त्रिगणः पादेष्वेकादश गणा इमे ॥ २६७ ॥
रतिः षष्ठश्च दशमः शेषाः स्युर्मन्मथा गणाः ॥ २६८ अ ॥
तदा स्यात्त्रिपदी तालहीना कर्णाटभाषया ॥ २७० अ ॥
—संगीतरत्नाकर (Adyar Ed., 1944), IV.

[2] Read र्द्वा for रर्ध

[3] पञ्चकामा रतिश्चैका कामोऽन्ते चरणत्रये ।
प्रत्येकं तासु चेदेताश्छन्दस्वत्योऽखिला मताः ॥ १२५ ॥
गणादेर्न्यूनताधिक्यादेलाभासा इमा मताः ॥ १२६ अ ॥
—संगीतरत्नाकर (Adyar Ed., 1944), IV.

मदनाद्याः शरगणान्ताः । यदि चरणाश्चत्वारः ॥
गदिताश्चेच्चतुष्पदिका । विदितासौ चूडामणी ॥ १५ ॥
कन्दर्पगणतो रतिगणचतुष्कं चेत् ।
छन्दसि जयकीर्तेरादिवराहाख्या ॥
छन्दोऽवतंसनामेति चतुष्पदिका ।
संदृष्टासौ कुमारसंभवादौ ॥ १६ ॥
स्मरगणः परितोऽत्र । शरगणः पुरषष्ठ- । चरणान्तयोस्तदन्ते विरामः ॥
करकरपुरगणाः । द्विरिहत्याश्चरणाश्चेत् । स्फुरति षट्चरणवत् षट्[1]पदिका ॥ १७ ॥
स्मररतिपूर्वं स्मररतिमध्यं स्मरयुगगुरुनिधनम् ।
चरणचतुष्कं स्थिरतरचतुरुत्तरशतमात्रमिदम् ॥
करिवसुमात्राविरमणयुक् चेत् स्फुरति तदाक्षरिका ।
गुरुपरजगणेतरगतिमात्राधरगणभागथवा ॥ १८ ॥
प्रथमक इह गुरुपरकृतिपरिमितलभृदितरे- ।
प्यथ पादा रतिगणपरगतिमदनगणाः स्युः ॥
ग्रथितपदावलयस्तैश्चेदिति मदनवती ।
प्रथितयतिः प्रतिचरणं द्वाविंशतिमात्रा ॥ १९ ॥
रगणो द्वितीये षष्ठे च । लगणो धगणो वान्यत्र पञ्चस्वर्धयोश्च ॥
त्रिगणोऽयुक् समपादोऽब्धिगणो । निगदिता गीतिकालंकारे प्रभुसेनीयैः ॥ २० ॥
आदिर्गुरु(r. रुः) पूर्वश्चेत्पादो गुरुपूर्वकास्तथान्ये जातौ ।
पादो लघुपूर्वश्चेदादिः शेषास्तथैव भाषाविषये ॥ २१ ॥
किमेतावन्ति पद्यानि चेहानुक्तान्यनेकधा ।
सन्ति षट्प्रत्यये तानि दृश्यन्ते सूचितानि च ॥ २२ ॥
इति जयकीर्तिकृतौ छन्दोऽनुशासने कर्णाटविषयभाषाजात्यधिकारः सप्तमः ॥

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[1] षष्ठस्तृतीयस्त्रिगणः पृथग् द्विद्विगणाः परे ।
चत्वारश्चरणाः ; बाणप्रान्तौ षष्ठतृतीयकौ ॥ २७२ ॥
शेषास्तु मान्मथगणा यस्यां सा षट्पदी मता ।
कर्णाटभाषया तालवर्जिता नादमुक्तिका ॥ २७३ ॥
—संगीतरत्नाकर (Adyar Ed., 1944), IV.

SOME EXTANT VERSIONS OF BHARTṚHARI'S ŚATAKAS

By D. D. Kosambi

While Bhartṛhari's *śatakatrayī* is familiar to anyone who has even a smattering of Sanskrit, it is not realized except by those who have had to compare Bhartṛhari MSS from widely separated sources that the material shows an enormous variability. Printed editions from different parts of the country show a spurious uniformity, partly because the later tend naturally to be influenced by the earlier, while the earliest have been based upon unrepresentative MSS (see note on version W below). The first printed edition known is that by William Carey at Serampore, 1803-4, printed together with an edition of the Hitopadeśa. This was based " upon three different MSS, each of which ended at a different place", hence frankly eclectic though that did not matter in view of the fact that the work made no pretensions to be a critical edition, being intended merely as a textbook. Copies of this edition do not seem to be available in India, apparently because the Serampore College press was struck by lightning in 1812 and all copies of printed works then in stock lost. Study of a microfilm obtained from the India Office (by courtesy of the Bombay University Library) shows that this edition has a *śṛṅgāraśataka* based upon version W of this note, a *vairāgya* which is an inflated W, and a *nīti* of Northern type which cannot be more closely identified. This edition was atrociously reprinted in Haeberlin's anthology, the *Kāvyasaṅgraha* (Calcutta, 1847), and thereafter with emendations in successive local editions. In the meanwhile, P. von Bohlen's more imposing edition (Berlin, 1833) had appeared. This follows, again, the general scheme of the Serampore edition as regards the *śṛṅgāra*, but in the other two makes use of Abraham Roger's translation of about 1630, published by Thomas de la Grue in a French retranslation from the Dutch original at Amsterdam in 1670. Some of Bohlen's identifications of the original ślokas from this translation are definitely wrong; in addition his synoptic charts (the first of Bhartṛhari versions so far as I know) of the *nīti* and *vairāgya* have a few more errors because his extraneous source (*B*), the India Office MS 2539-*e*, has a different order for the *śatakas*. But for the mis-identifications from Roger's translation and an insistence upon a hundred for each century, Bohlen would have had a fair approximation to the Southern recension. This edition was succeeded, though not copied, by several lithographed versions at Bombay and Poona all of which gave much the same order of stanzas, being representatives of our W, and so created the false impression of uniformity that Aufrecht describing Bodleian 246 (Bodleian MSS Cat. VIII, p. 133) which seems to belong to our B version was puzzled by the totally new order, which seemed to him a deviation (Distichorum ordo nescio quibus de causis prorsus immutatus est), though actually it is as justified as any other order. For comparative purposes, however, nothing seems to have been done till the appearance of Kāśināth Trimbak Telang's edition at Bombay in 1893. This edition of the *nīti* and the *vairāgya* has definitely influenced most of the succeeding Indian editions, though Telang follows the Bombay lithographed edition for his basic text and cites variants from it. His charts of 17 sources for *nīti* and 14 for *vairāgya* were meant primarily for help in collation, but are less useful for a critical edition as no versions were established, the sources are contaminated, while several MSS used are incomplete or defective. The omission of the *śṛṅgāra* is very serious, as the *śatakatrayī* must be considered in its entirety; the occurrence of the same stanza in different centuries in different versions, and on occasion even in the same version proves this conclu-

sively. Finally, his representative of the southernmost version (our **Y**), namely the x which he thought represented "the recension universally current in the South", was almost certainly of the Rāmacandra Budhendra type, as the stanza *śakyo vārayitum* is included which is found only in this subgroup of the Telugu branch of this version.

The original Venkaṭeśvara Press edition (1884) of Bhartṛhari follows our **W** for *nīti* and *śṛṅgāra* but some Northern source for the *vairāgya*. The recent edition (dated 1932 but apparently issued only in 1944) from the same press is even more ruggedly eclectic, borrowing from the Rāmacandra Budhendra version wherever possible. The Gujerati Printing Press edition now current follows Telang in *nīti*, and unspecified sources in the others, but gives extra stanzas from a MS of our version **A**. The unfortunate results of this procedure are only too obvious, apart from the question of actual readings, for the first Venkaṭeśvara edition omitted *cūḍottaṃsita* . . . , while this is relegated to the extras by the Gujerati PP edition; Carey's had omitted *dikkālady anavacchinnān*, again from the same cause, following different MSS for different *śatakas*.

It will be seen from this that comparison of printed editions will lead to nothing, with the possible exception of editions printed before 1890 in out-of-the-way places. These may be traced in the India Office and the British Museum Catalogues, the former of which helps a great deal by specifying the press. But writing to the presses has yielded nothing, for about a third of those presses are defunct while the rest may be equally divided into two classes one of which regrets that no copy of the work in question is available even for purposes of comparison, while the rest deny ever having published any edition of Bhartṛhari! However, the end of World War II has made it possible to borrow some of these printed editions from abroad; I hope to make use of them in my critical edition of Bhartṛhari's poetry. If any reader can make the loan of any early printed edition of Bhartṛhari's *śatakas*, or still better send any MSS of type different from those utilized in my charts, I should be very grateful.

The only useful type of printed edition is one that follows a local MS version faithfully, and I know of only one such edition that has achieved popularity. This is the grandiose Rāmacandra Budhendra version, printed very often in the South in both the original Telugu as well as Grantha editions, copied by the two Kanarese editions known to me, namely Dodbele Nārāyaṇaśāstrī's and Māgaḍi Kṛṣṇaśāstrī's (both at Bangalore), and made generally available in *devanāgarī* by the Nirṇaysāgar Press of Bombay in a succession of editions of which the seventh is now current.

That the *śatakatrayī* must be regarded as a whole is quite obvious.

2. My own charts given here are based upon the study of over 150 MSS, of which 76 are in Poona, and the rest were borrowed from all over the country. Not all of these represent the complete *śatakatrayī*, but almost all of them can be assigned to one or the other of the versions given here or derived as misch-codices from them. Actually, more than 70 MSS of the complete *śatakatrayī* have been charted, and one may be reasonably certain that the eight versions given here represent real fixed stages in the development of the literary tradition associated with the name of Bhartṛhari. There are unquestionably some more versions extant, but they have not yet been established with the same degree of certainty as those given in my appended chart. In particular, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (BORI) MS No. 329 (all BORI numbers refer to the Kāvya Catalogue, vol. XIII) and Punjab University Library 2101 have so many omissions in common, especially in the *vairāgyaśataka*, that they must go back to a common prototype. Unfortunately, both these MSS are rather corrupt, with every evidence of a desperate attempt on the part of the scribes to include every stanza that could possibly be ascribed to Bhartṛhari, so that it has hitherto proved impossible to constitute the

prototype itself with reasonable certainty. Rājāpur MS No. 3 gives another version whose characteristic is a short or deficient *śṛṅgāra* of 91 stanzas, and this portion (though not the *śatakatrayī* version as a whole) is confirmed by the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṃśodhaka Maṇḍala (ISM) collection, which contains just the *śṛṅgāra* (with a couple of additions) in Candracūḍa donation No. 603. Further, there is at least one version with a long *vairāgya*, represented by the Scindia O.R. Institute's (Ujjain) No. 1838, which has a *vairāgya* extending to no less than 153 stanzas. This was copied in Poona in 1814, from an exemplar which was unquestionably lacunary hence much older, and is unexpectedly confirmed in the characteristic portion (though not as a whole) by two fragments. The first is BORI 328, which is the oldest dated MS in India, of A.D. 1560, and uses *pṛṣṭhamātrās* consistently. This contained, to calculate from what is left, a *nīti* of about 100 and a *śṛṅgāra* of which the final *ślokas* ending at 103 are preserved; but the *vairāgya* the whole of which is preserved extends to 163 in the official numbering and 178 stanzas by actual count. Some of those stanzas are not found anywhere else except in Ujjain 1838, though the numbering is not an exact parallel for all the stanzas. This defect was remedied by another fragment in the possession of Mr. B. D. Apte, acting manager of the Ānandāśrama, which contains the last hundred stanzas of the *vairāgya* and is an exact confirmation for these but with two *ślokas* added just before the final stanza. Further, a single folio belonging to an anthology and found in ISM Gore 144 ends the *vairāgyaśataka* at stanza 194, and this was to a considerable extent supported by the Gujerat Vernacular Society's MS No. 2387 which is the only other Bhartṛhari MS to give some of the stanzas found on the stray ISM folio. It will be seen that my chart of versions cannot be regarded as complete. For the present, I have kept the letters C and D for the types represented by Rājāpur 3 and Ujjain 1838 respectively, with the hope that more evidence will be forthcoming before the publication of a critical edition.

3. For a collection of supposedly 300 stanzas, the difference between version, archetype, and recension might seem negligible. The actual MS evidence shows, however, such enormous variation that these differences are necessarily heightened. By a version, I mean here one particular arrangement of the stanzas confirmed by two or more MSS, preferably with wide separation in time and space. These versions may be regarded as the frame of reference, a co-ordinate system as it were, for the location of any observed type of MS that cannot immediately be assigned to one of them. To borrow a simile from engineering practice, they form the reinforcement about which the amorphous substance of a collection of Bhartṛhari stanzas has generally been poured. These versions are naturally grouped into four archetypes, and the archetypes themselves fall into two quite obviously separate groups, the Northern and the Southern recensions. It might be added that the actual variants observed in the process of collation show in general that this type of classification is justified; MSS which have their stanzas in the same order tend also to have the same readings, the only further point to be noted here being that a MS differs from its version by influence of another version, when it is copied in the territory which is covered by the second version. It might be considered that some of these versions were constructed by their commentators from material available to them, and are therefore of comparatively recent origin. Without saying anything about the actual date of origin of any version, one may at least absolve the commentators of guilt in the formation of the versions as such, for every commentator I have studied gives variants as such (*pāṭhāntaras*) and even worse, comments upon readings which do not exist in the text, without noticing the oversight.

For editorial purposes, a version is naturally far more reliable than an unsupported MS, not only in the way of determined readings but actually as regards inclusion of stanzas. For example, our E_1 omits *mṛgamīnasajjanānāṁ*, and W_3=

BORI 336 drops out *veśyāsau madanajvālā*, while A_3 has passed over *yāvat svastham idaṁ*; in each case the omission causes a disturbance in numbering, and the stanza is clearly to be included in the version in question. On the other hand, it does not necessarily follow that having several MSS of a given version means that one can determine the version with greater ease or accuracy. For, in the first place occasional transpositions as may come from the scribe's having reversed a folio are common, particularly when a commented MS is being followed. Secondly, and this is of the utmost importance for anyone who uses my chart, there is hardly a MS which does not make slips in numbering, for the numbers were often added later on in a different pigment, and further confusion is inevitable when the commentary runs on continuously with the text. It does not suffice, as is invariably done by those who catalogue our MSS, to give the final number, because this may not coincide with the actual count; in one case at least the MS is over a hundred stanzas out as compared to its description, because after the hundredth, the top figure is generally left out by scribes and the cataloguer ignored this practice. Finally, for Bhartṛhari MSS at least, it is very important to note the actual number as well as the number written in the MS, for often they coincide with two different versions of the same recension. Occasionally, as with MS 159 of the collection made available to me by courtesy of Prof. S. V. Puntambekar of the Benares Hindu University, we find a second set of numbers in minuscule and even different colour above the first, which shows how MSS of different versions were being constantly compared. Additions are then indicated on the margin, which would be copied out by the next scribe into the text with the numbering done consecutively; but a few folios after, the scribe would generally lapse into copying the system of numbers before him, and betray the addition.

There is, in general, no special place for interpolation *because* the *śatakas* have not a special order dictated by logic, or by inner connection, even in the more logically arranged Southern recension. The commonest additions are at the end of the *śataka*, but even here some effort is made to keep the final stanza the same, so that one cannot rigidly apply the principle of suspecting *ślokas* with large numbers. Occasionally, two stanzas with much the same content manage to come together, and I believe this may have happened because the transmission of the *ślokas* in question was mostly by memory. It must be remembered that almost every person with some claim to learning used these *ślokas* as tags in conversation, whence such confusion would be the natural result. For example, *bhūḥ paryaṅko* is a paraphrase in *mandākrāntā* metre of *mahāśayyā pṛthvī*, and I am inclined to think that it is an interpolation from the *śāntiśataka* (ascribed to Śilhaṇa). The verses *cumbanto gaṇḍabhittīr* and *keśān ākulayan* are palpable equivalents, generally juxtaposed in our MSS; *sudhāśubhraṃ dhāma* and *srajo hṛdyāmodā* have still more in common. Although many of these pairs survive, it has been possible to go beyond the published chart, by using other MS evidence, in throwing doubt on the authenticity of at least one member. The chart itself shows that the first of the equivalent pair *apasara sakhe dūrād* and *vyādīrgheṇa calena* is to be suspected. On the other hand, one wonders whether the process has not occasionally worked in the opposite direction. One of the two stanzas with the same beginning *mattebhakumbhadalane* and *mattebhakumbhapariṇāhini* occurs in every version, but both occur in so few MSS that there is no option in view of the absence of any external evidence but to doubt the originality of both. These are, in any case, matters to be discussed in full detail by any critical editor, so we may pass them by with this brief indication.

4. Before coming to the MSS which determine the versions charted, it is necessary to note that their geographical distribution is by itself remarkable. The local versions of Bhartṛhari are found only in a region opening southwards from Rajputānā, broadening into Gujerāt and including the whole of the Indian peninsula.

There are, in the strongest contradistinction to MSS of, say, the Mahābhārata, or the Pañcatantra, no local versions in Kaśmīr, Punjab, U.P., Mithilā, Bengal, or Nepal. That is, Bhartṛhari has not spread into regions which (or the ways to which) were occupied at an early stage by Mohammedan conquest. To my mind *this* fact, which I shall establish in greater detail elsewhere, shows late growth of the popularity of Bhartṛhari, being a confirmation of the general note of frustration, neglect, despair, and poverty that sounds so clearly through the verses themselves and which furnishes in fact the principal factor common to all the versions of Bhartṛhari—the class-literature of the Hindu lower middle class in India. As for the date of Bhartṛhari, the MSS help very little for the oldest dated MS is the India Office 2539-*e* used by von Bohlen, dated A.D. 1547, and which from the calligraphy (seen by me only in rotograph) may not actually be so old for the possible substitution of "śaka" for "saṃvat" would not seem unreasonable in this case. There is no reason to believe any of the MSS now available to be older than the 16th century, and the majority are much later, which forms a striking tribute to the "popularity" of Bhartṛhari in recent times, whatever his contemporary neglect. Copies must very clearly have been in enormous demand for use as texts, when we see that the more salacious *Amaruśataka* is available in exemplars three centuries older. From the surprising places in which Bhartṛhari MSS have turned up, I estimate their total number in the world as 3,000 or more. Most of these will not be accessible for study, unless they reach some public collection; the action of time, air, rain, white ants, and all other vermin except scholars will surely destroy the greater number that still survive the neglect and laziness of their possessors. Where a local version exists, Bhartṛhari MSS are about the commonest secular finds, just as the *bhagavad gītā* is the most likely religious find; MSS of both are being rapidly destroyed by the availability of cheap printed editions. But all this does not enable us to date Bhartṛhari himself with any certainty. It may be pointed out that the three stanzas that might possibly be used to date the writer all drop out of one version each: *eko rāgiṣu rājate*, which mentions the hermaphrodite Śiva; *diśa vanahariṇībhyo*, where we have a reference to the highly prized pale golden complexion of *śaka* maidens (corrupted to *śuka-yuvati* in all MSS except B of the Northern recension); and the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu in *brahmā yena kulālavan niyamito*. W omits the first two, X the last.

5. The actual versions have been constituted on the basis of the following sources:

Northern Recension

Archetype α

Version A: A_1 = BBRAS 205-3 (Bhau Daji collection) with a Rājasthānī commentary. A_2 = RASB *G. 7779*; A_3 = *Jodhpur Archaeological Department* collection, MS No. 2. For further confirmation, BBRAS 108 was available. The version may be assigned to the northern half of Rājasthān.

Version B: Baroda Gaekwar O. Inst. 11725, confirmed for the *śṛṅgāra* by Gujerat Vernacular Society (Ahmedabad) MS No. 1049, and in general (though not in full detail) by five other MS from Rajputana. This may be assigned tentatively to central Rājasthān; though the order is often nearer to our version J, this has been influenced by A as well as E.

Versions C and D are not yet well determined.

Version E: The Dhanasāra (commentator) version, one of the commonest Northern types, but spread by Jain influence over too large a territory to locate definitely, beyond assigning it to Rājasthān, probably the southern portion. Readings are influenced by the actual provenance. E_1 = BORI 332, E_2 = Baroda 787, E_3 = Baroda 1780, E_4 = BORI 333, E_5 = Rājāpūr 2. These may be

traced actually to two variant forms, with a disturbance in the *śṛṅgāra* of the minor due to confusion between *tāvan mahattvaṃ* and *tāvad evāmṛtamayī*; this aberrant form also tends to add extra stanzas after the colophon of the *vairāgya*. Minor transpositions as well as heavy additions at the end are to be seen in many exemplars.

Version F: This is a pseudo-version which has been used for collation but not given on our chart. Its unity derives from the fact that it originates in the North and has definitely Southern influence, probably from Mahārāṣṭrian copyists or transmission. To this belong Tanjore Sarasvatī Mahāl 4906, 4907, 4902, India Office 2539-*e*, ISM Gorhe 305, numbered F_{1-5} consecutively. The general origin is Central India, though only F_5 has a colophon showing that it was written on the banks of the Godāvarī.

Archetype β

Version H: Commentator Rāmarṣi. This has been published by me in collaboration with K. V. Kṛṣṇamūrti Śarmā as No. 127 of the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (1945). Only two commented MSS are known, of which the one in the British Museum (Bendall 255) is not at present accessible. H_1 = BORI 335; H_2 = BORI 327. Both of these come from Gujerāt, being Telang's R and P respectively. Nevertheless, the version probably belongs to Southern Rājasthān. H_2 contains (as *śṛṅgāra* 74) a stanza *pañcānanaṃ paribhava* which is unsupported and hence unreported here.

Version J: This is remarkable as the only Northern version in any Southern script, all known MSS being in Kanarese. J_1 is an ancient palm-leaf MS, obviously copied from a still older lacunary exemplar, made available by courtesy of Mr. M. P. Wali, chairman of the district local board, Belgaum, from a Lingāyat maṭha of the district. As this contains some stanzas only as traces in the Kanarese commentary, I have generally followed the order in J_2, which is a composite source made up for *nīti* of the Madras Government MS DC 12090 from Tirupati, and Mysore Oriental Library 1768 for the other two *śatakas*. Omissions in J_1 are starred, while inclusions in J_1 omitted in J_2 are given in square brackets. Where the stanza belongs to different *śatakas* in the two, the J_2 number is given italicized.

Southern Recension

Archetype γ

Version W: This is the Western Indian version, spread all over India by the great influence of Mahārāṣṭrian pundits in the last four centuries, a centre of infiltration being Benares. The lithographed editions are based upon this for the greater part, as also Carey's, Haeberlin's, and to some extent Bohlen's, for Bengal had no local versions. The great majority of MSS found in Mahārāṣṭra or with Māhārāṣṭrian pundits elsewhere belong to this type; though the text itself is generally corrupt, and the perfunctory, anonymous (though assigned by Rajendralal Mitra to Maheśvara) commentary useless, the order of ślokas here is quite well determined. The feature of this version is the deficient *vairāgya* of 86 (properly 85) stanzas, which has been brought to 100 or so in various ways in a minority of inflated MSS, often by additions which are repetitions of previous stanzas. None of these inflated MSS have been considered.

Archetype δ

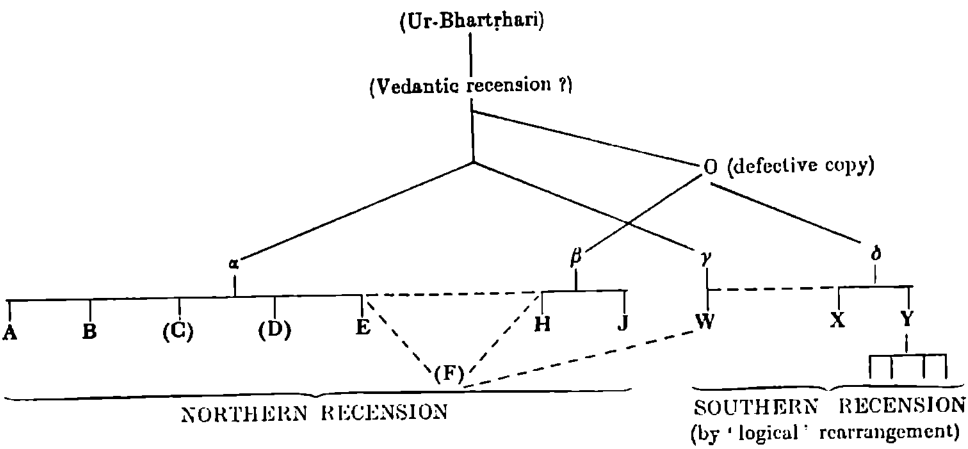
Version X: Translator Tukā Brahmānanda, a goldsmith of Sātārā, of the 17th century. Determined from Rājāpur 1, ISM Barvé 244, ISM Rājavāḍe 51, and others. British Museum Bendall 256-A is also an exemplar of this. This version with the next is under publication in the Bhāratīya Vidyā series at Bombay, to which the reader is referred for details and text of the whole archetype.

Version Y: This is the only version found in almost all major scripts, and in localities spread over the whole of Bhartṛhari territory, from Benares to Travancore. Among the six available devanāgarī sources may be mentioned Y_1, the version (strongly influenced by X) with Maheśvara Bhaṭṭa's commentary. Of three Telugu, T_1 is the Rāmacandra Budhendra version. Of the five Grantha MSS utilized, two from Mysore contain an anonymous Sanskrit commentary which is under publication in the Bhāratīya Vidyā series edition, but all Grantha MSS show strong Malayalam connections. Five Malayalam MSS collated at Trivandrum were utilized. Version Y, including the Telugu, Grantha, Malayalam groups, shows many small divergences, the best marked aberrant types being the Rāmacandra Budhendra version and one determined by the last two Malayalam sources. Omission in speical sub-versions are starred, two inclusions of importance given in square brackets, lesser inclusions ignored.

6. The principal feature of the Southern recension is an attempt at logical arrangement of the stanzas, which division into *paddhatis* is carried to extremes in archetype δ, where the *nīti* and *vairāgya* are rigidly divided into decades while the *śṛṅgāra* is partitioned into scores. This framework has the advantage that interpolations are limited, but additions have also been made for this archetype, generally at the end of the *paddhati*. It is fairly clear even from a study of the evidence for the Souhetrn recension alone that the original number of stanzas could hardly have been 300, and that even different sub-types of δ try to make up the deficiency in different ways. Much the same conclusion can be reached by a close study of variation among the Northern versions and comparison of the two which shows a certain number of stanzas assigned to different *śatakas* in the two recensions leaves little doubt that the original number must have been well below three full centuries. This is further substantiated by the fact that there are not, in the North, three *mangalācaraṇa* stanzas; finer criticism results, in fact, in the exclusion even of *dikkālādyanavacchinnān* (which probably enters with a Vedantic recension), so that there is in effect just one benedictory stanza *cūḍottaṁsita* for the entire collection! Nothing except the constant attempt to collect all known or imagined Bhartṛhari stanzas could account for the variation, which has resulted even for the eight versions here represented in less than 221 common *ślokas* with a grand total of 397 stanzas, which is increased to about 700 by the inclusion of extras in all MSS and anthologies. This does not include two palpable forgeries, the *Viṭavṛtta* and the *Vijñānaśataka*. The best explanation of this phenomenon would be that the work is a collection of stanzas by later scholars of verses attributed by them to Bhartṛhari; as it were, a Bhartṛhari anthology. That a single author could have promulgated a work in a definite *śatakatrayī* form and that such liberties could have been taken with that form by later editors is hard to believe.

The interrelationship between MSS is a good deal more complicated than that shown by simple division into two recensions. The actual readings sometimes show strange coincidences, even in scribe's errors. That Malayalam MSS should on occasion give purely Northern readings is expected from Sukthankar's pioneer work on the Mahābhārata, from the conservatism of Malayalam MSS and from the fact that Bhartṛhari was in all probability a Northerner. That J should show

Southern readings is also natural, as it would be strongly influenced by **Y** MSS while retaining the Northern order. But curiously enough, even **H** shows some Southern readings against all other Northern MSS while on occasion the only version of Southern type to agree with extreme Northern readings is **W**. The riddle is to be solved by consideration of a single pair of ślokas: *asārāḥ santyete* and *bhavanto vedānta,* which always occur consecutively in that order where both are found, namely in archetypes α and γ (with *bimbākāraṃ sudhādhāraṃ* obviously interpolated between the two in version B). In the other two archetypes, however, we get a very curious combination stanza with the first half of the first of these ending with the last half of the second. When we note that the second half of each of the two stanzas begins with *tathāpy,* this is clearly explained as a case of haplography in a single defective exemplar, hence must be assigned to very remote times when there existed very few copies of Bhartṛhari's work which no one took the trouble to read or even to compare with others. The total evidence, therefore, may be presented in the following *stemma codicum.*



Here I give the actual charts of the eight versions described. The final *śloka* of each *śataka* and version is given in bold-face type. N = *nīti,* S = *śṛṅgāra,* V = *vairāgya*; the *pratīkas* follow Southern readings in general, as these are the more familiar from printed editions, but different possible beginnings are starred. The most noteworthy of these different beginnings is, perhaps, for *sā ramyā nagarī,* which begins *bhrātaḥ kaṣṭam aho* in the Northern MSS.

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CHART FOR BHARTṚHARI VERSIONS

	Northern Recension					Southern Recension		
	α			β		γ	δ	
Stanza	A	B	E	H	J	W	X	Y
akaruṇatvam akāraṇa	N. 75	N. 76	N. 75	N. 73	N. 70	N. 52	N. 41	N. 41
agre gītaṃ sarasa	V. 63	V. 55	V. 63	V. 58	V. 53	V. 64	V. 65	V. 66
acchāccha candana	S. 33	S. 35	S. 38	S. 34	S. 33	S. 38	S. 86	S. 87
ajānan māhātmyaṃ	V. 22	V. 20	V. 22	V. 22	V. 20	V. 17	V. 7	V. 18
ajñaḥ sukhamārādhyaḥ	N. 2	N. 2	N. 2	N. 2	N. 2	N. 3	N. 3	N. 3
atikrāntaḥ kālo	V. 33	..	V. 33	..	..	..	..	..
adarśane darśana	S. 62	S. 62	S. 65	S. 61	S. 59	S. 23	S. 23	S. 22
adyāpi no'jjhati	N. 101	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
adhigataparamārthān	N. 13	N. 12	N. 12	N. 12	N. 11	N. 17	N. 13	N. 13
anāghrātaṃ puṣpaṃ	S. 18	..	S. 20	..	..	..	..	..
anāvartī kālo	V. 36	..	V. 36	V. 34	..	..	..	..
apasara sakhe dūrād	S. 73	S. 79	S. 82	S. 78	S. 76	S. 83	..	S. 52
apriyavacanadaridraiḥ	N. 82	N. 83	..	N. 80	N. 78	N. 105	..	..
abhimatamahāmāna	V. 100	V. 93	..	V. 97	V. 93	V. 20	V. 12	V. 22
abhimukhanihatasya	N. 103	N. 105	N. 102	N. 101	N. 97	..	..	..
abhuktāyāṃ yasyāṃ	V. 26	V. 23	V. 26	V. 25	V. 25	V. 58	V. 57	V. 58
amīṣāṃ prāṇānāṃ	V. 39	V. 32	V. 38	V. 35	V. 32	V. 7	V. 5	V. 5
ambhojinīvanavihāra	N. 42	N. 41	N. 43	N. 42	N. 33	N. 18	N. 14	N. 14
ayam amṛtanidhānaṃ	..	..	..	..	..	..	N. 88	[N. 88]
arthānāmīśiṣe tvaṃ	V. 31	V. 27	V. 31	V. 30	V. 28	V. 52	V. 51	V. 52
ardhaṃ suptvā niśā-	S. 95	S. 95	S. 98	S. 94	S. 92	S. 47	S. 94	S. 96
avaśyaṃ yātāraś cira	V. 17	V. 16	V. 17	V. 17	V. 16	V. 12	V. 35	V. 12
aśīmahi vayaṃ bhikṣām	..	V. 103	..	V. 29	..	V. 55	V. 54	V. 55
asārāḥ santvete	S. 11	S. 14	S. 14	S. 14	S. 14	S. 51	S. 36	S. 35
asitātmā susambaddhaḥ	S. 77	S. 73	S. 76	S. 71	S. 70	..	..	..
asūcīsaṃcāre tamasi	S. 88	S. 87	S. 90	S. 86	S. 84	S. 45	S. 92	S. 94
ahir iva janayogaṃ	..	..	..	..	..	..	V. 69	..
ahau vā hāro vā	V. 89	V. 106	..	V. 83	**V. 100**	V. 49	..	..
ākrāntaṃ maraṇena	V. 96	V. 89	V. 106	V. 93	V. 89	V. 29	V. 22	V. 32
āghrāya pustakaṃ	V. 104	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ājñā kīrtiḥ pālanaṃ	N. 88	N. 89	N. 88	N. 86	N. 84	N. 48	N. 39	N. 39
ādityasya gatāgatair	V. 8	V. 7	V. 8	V. 8	V. 7	V. 40	V. 42	V. 43
ādhivyādhiśatair	V. 97	V. 90	V. 107	V. 94	V. 90*	V. 30	V. 23	V. 33
āmīlitanayanānāṃ yaḥ	S. 65	S. 65	S. 68	..	S. 62	S. 27	S. 27	S. 26
āyuḥ kallolalolaṃ	V. 81	V. 72	V. 84	V. 73	V. 72	V. 33	V. 26	V. 36
āyurvarṣaśataṃ nṛṇāṃ	V. 99	V. 92	**V. 109**	V. 96	V. 92	V. 46	V. 48	V. 49
ārambhagurvī kṣayiṇī	N. 77	N. 78	N. 77	N. 75	N. 73	N. 60	N 49	N. 49
ālasyaṃ hi manuṣyā	N. 62	N. 59	N. 61	N. 60	N. 58	N. 86	..	..
āvartaḥ saṃśayānāṃ	{ N. 51 S. 29	S. 29	S. 31	S. 28	S. 27	S. 76	S. 46	S. 45
āvāsaḥ kilakiñcid	S. 87	S. 84	S. 87	S. 83	S. 81	S. 35	S. 82	S. 83
āvāsaḥ kriyatāṃ gāṅge	S. 82	S. 86	S. 89	S. 85	S. 83	S. 31	S. 39	S. 38
āśā nāma nadī mano	V. 48	V. 40	V. 47	V. 43	V. 40	V. 11	V. 34	V. 10
āsaṃsārāt tribhuvana	V. 51	V. 41	V. 48	V. 44	V. 41	V. 77	V. 82	V. 81
āsāreṇa na harmyataḥ	S. 94	S. 94	S. 97	S. 93	S. 91	S. 46	S. 93	S. 95
itaḥ svapiti keśavaḥ	N. 17	N. 16	N. 16	N. 16	N. 15	N. 76	N. 66	N. 67
ito vidyudvallīvila	S. 85	S. 82	S. 85	S. 81	S. 79	S. 44	S. 91	S. 93
idam anucitam akrama	S. 70	S. 76	S. 79	S. 74	S. 73	S. 28	S. 28	S. 27
ime tāruṇyaśrīnava	S. 86	S. 83	S. 86	S. 82	S. 80	..	S. 18	S. 19
iyatyetasmin vā	..	N. 65	..	..	..	..	..	..
iyam bālā māṃ pratya	S. 16	S. 23	V. 69	..	V. 58	S. 94	S. 63	S. 63
iha hi madhuragītaṃ	S. 37	S. 38	S. 41	S. 37	S. 36	S. 87	S. 56	S. 50
uḍugaṇaparivāro	..	..	..	..	..	..	N. 89	..
utkhātaṃ nidhiśaṅka	V. 5	V. 5	V. 5	V. 5	V. 5	V. 5	V. 3	V. 3
udanvac channā bhūḥ	..	N. 17	N. 17	N. 17	..	..	..	..
udbhāsitākhilakhala	N. 91	N. 92	N. 90	N. 89	N. 87	N. 59	N. 48	N. 48

	Northern Recension					Southern Recension		
	α			β		γ	δ	
Stanza	A	B	E	H	J	W	X	Y
udyāneṣu vicitra	..	..	V. 98	..	..	..	..	..
udvṛttaḥ stanabhāra	S. 57	S. 58	S. 62	S. 56	S. 55	S. 15	S. 15	S. 15
unmattapremasaṃram	S. 52	S. 53	S. 57	S. 51	S. 50	S. 60	S. 74	S. 75
unmīlat trivalī	S. 30	S. 37	S. 40	S. 30	S. 35	S. 80	S. 49	S. 49
upari ghanaṃ ghana	S. 20	S. 20	S. 22	S. 19	S. 18	S. 43	S. 90	S. 92
urasi nipatitānāṃ	S. 63	S. 63	S. 60	S. 62	S. 60	S. 26	S. 26	S. 25
eka eva khago mānī	N. 10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ekākī niḥspṛhaḥ	V. 72	V. 63	V. 74	V. 66	V. 63	V. 50	V. 89	V. 89
ekenāpi hi śūreṇa	N. 84	N. 85	N. 83	N. 82	N. 80	N. 108	..	..
ekaiva kācin mahatāṃ	S. 81	**S. 102**	S. 103	..	..	..	..	..
*eko devaḥ keśavo vā	..	..	N. 53	..	N. 50	..	..	..
eko rāgiṣu rājate	S. 79	S. 75	S. 78	S. 73	S. 72	..	V. 8	V. 17
etat kāmaphalaṃ loke	..	..	S. 51	..	..	S. 29	..	..
etasmād viramendri	V. 60	V. 52	V. 60	V. 55	V. 50	V. 61	V. 62	V. 63
etāś calad valaya	S. 6	S. 9	S. 9	S. 9	S. 9	S. 8	S. 8	S. 8
ete satpuruṣāḥ	N. 47	N. 45	N. 47	N. 46	N. 42	N. 74	..	N. 64
aiśvaryasya vibhū-	N. 45	N. 44	N. 46	N. 45	N. 41	N. 82	N. 78	N. 80
kadarthitasyāpi hi	N. 81	N. 82	N. 84	N. 79	N. 77	N. 106	N. 76	N. 77
kadā vārāṇasyām	..	..	..	..	..	V. 82	V. 87	V. 87
kare ślāghyas tyāgaḥ	N. 94	N. 95	N. 93	N. 92	N. 90	N. 65	N. 53	N. 53
karmāyattam phalaṃ	N. 61	N. 58	N. 60	N. 59	N. 57	N. 89	..	..
kaś cumbati kulapuru	S. 45	S. 46	S. 49	S. 44	S. 43	S. 91	S. 60	S. 60*
kāntākaṭākṣaviśikhā	N. 76	N. 77	N. 76	N. 74	N. 72	N. 107	N. 75	N. 76
kāntety utpalalocane	S. 22	..	S. 24	S. 21	S. 20	S. 72	S. 42	S. 41
kāminīkāyakāntāre	S. 39	S. 40	S. 43	S. 39	S. 38	S. 85	S. 54	S. 54
*kiṃ kandarpa śaraṃ	..	V. 85	V. 102	V. 90	V. 86	S. 97	S. 64	S. 64
kiṃ kandāḥ kandare	V. 69	V. 60	V. 71	V. 64	V. 60	V. 23	V. 15	V. 25
kiṃ kūrmasya bhara	N. 99	N. 102	N. 99	N. 98	N. 96	..	..	..
kiṃ gatena yadi sā	S. 64	S. 64	S. 67	S. 63	S. 61	..	S. 66	S. 66
kiṃ tena hemagiriṇā	..	..	..	..	..	N. 79	..	..
kiṃ vedaiḥ smṛtibhiḥ	V. 80	V. 71	V. 83	V. 72	V. 71	V. 69	V. 72	V. 71
kim iha bahubhir	S. 14	S. 17	S. 17	S. 16	S. 16	S. 53	S. 40	S. 39
kuṅkumapaṅkakalaṅkita	S. 55	S. 56	S. 60	S. 54	S. 53	S. 9	S. 9	S. 9
kusumastabaksyeva	N. 38	N. 38	N. 39	N. 38	N. 35	N. 33	N. 25	N. 25
kṛcchreṇāmedhyamadhye	V. 98	V. 91	V. 108	V. 95	V. 91	V. 34	V. 27	V. 37
kṛmikulacitaṃ lālā	N. 31	N. 32	N. 33	N. 35	N. 28	N. 9	N. 9	N. 9
kṛśaḥ kāṇaḥ khañjaḥ	V. 19	V. 17	V. 19	V. 18	V. 17	S. 63	S. 77	S. 78
kṛśopi siṃho na samo	N. 46	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
keyūrāṇi na bhūṣa	N. 104	N. 106	N. 103	N. 102	**N. 100**	N. 19	N. 15	N. 15
keśāḥ saṃyaminaḥ	S. 89	S. 88	S. 91	S. 87	S. 85	S. 12	S. 12	S. 12
keśān ākulayan dṛśo	S. 98	S. 98	S. 101	S. 98	S. 95	S. 50	S. 98	**S. 100**
ko lābho guṇisaṃgamaḥ	..	..	..	..	..	N. 103	..	..
kaupīnaṃ śatakhaṇḍa	V. 93	V. 86	V. 103	..	..	V. 85	V. 91	V. 91
kvacit pṛthvīśayyaḥ	N. 18	N. 18	N. 18	N. 18	N. 16	N. 81	N. 74	N. 73
kvacit sabhrūbhaṅg-	S. 23	S. 22	S. 25	S. 22	S. 21	S. 4	S. 4	S. 4
kvacid vīṇāvādaḥ	V. 66	..	..	..	..	..	V. 68	..
kṣaṇam bālo bhūtvā	..	V. 99	..	V. 104	V. 99	V. 47	V. 49	V. 50
kṣāntaṃ na kṣamayā	V. 14	V. 13	V. 14	V. 14	V. 13	..	V. 6	V. 6
kṣāntiś cet kavacena	..	..	..	..	..	N. 21	N. 17	N. 17
kṣīreṇātmagatodakāya	N. 29	N. 30	N. 31	N. 31	N. 24	N. 75	N. 65	N. 66
kṣutkṣāmopi jarākṛśo	N. 14	N. 13	N. 13	N. 13	N. 12	N. 29	N. 21	N. 21
khalālāpāḥ soḍhāḥ	V. 6	V. 6	V. 6	V. 6	V. 6	V. 6	V. 4	V. 4
khalvāṭo divaseśvara	N. 43	N. 42	N. 44	N. 43	N. 39	N. 90	N. 84	N. 84
gaṅgātaraṅgakaṇaśīka	V. 70	V. 61	V. 72	V. 80	V. 61	V. 22	V. 14	V. 24

	Northern Recension					Southern Recension		
	α			β		γ	δ	
Stanza	A	B	E	H	J	W	X	Y
gaṅgātīre himagiri ..	V. 44	V. 37	V. 43	V. 40	V. 37	..	V. 98	V. 08
gajabhujaṅgavihaṅgama	..	..	..	..	..	N. 91	N. 85	N. 85
garbhāvāse śayitvā ..	V. 106	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
gātrair gira ca vika ..	..	..	..	V. 7	..	..	..	..
gātraṃ saṃkucitaṃ ..	V. 107	..	..	..	N. 47	V. 70	V. 74	V. 73
guṇavad aguṇavad vā	N. 54	N. 51	N. 52	N. 51	N. 49	N. 99	N. 96	N. 05
guruṇā stanabhāreṇa	S. 76	S. 72	S. 75	S. 70	S. 69	S. 16	S. 20	S. 17
caṇḍālaḥ kim ayaṃ ..	V. 57	V. 51	V. 58	V. 54	V. 49	..	V. 96	V. 96
calā lakṣmīś calāḥ ..	**V. 108**	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
cumbanto gaṇḍabhittīr	S. 90	S. 99	S. 102	S. 97	S. 96	S. 49	S. 97	S. 09*
cūḍottaṃsita cāru ..	S. 1	S. 1	S. 1	N. 1 S. 1	S. 1	V. 1	V. 1	V. 1
cetaś cintaya mā ..	..	..	..	..	..	V. 63	V. 04	V. 65
chinnopi rohati taruḥ..	N. 79	N. 80	N. 79	N. 77	N. 75	N. 87	..	[N. 79]
jayanti te sukṛtino ..	N. 68	N. 67	N. 68	N. 66	N. 64	N. 24	N. 20	N. 20
jalpanti sārdham anyo	S. 59	S. 59	..	S. 58	S. 56	S. 81	S. 50	S. 50
jāḍyaṃ dhiyo harati ..	N. 48	N. 46	N. 48	N. 47	N. 43	N. 23	N. 19	N. 19
jāḍyaṃ hrīmati gaṇyate	N. 22	N. 22	N. 22	N. 23	N. 18	N. 54	N. 80	N. 43
jātaḥ kūrmaḥ sa ekaḥ	..	V. 98	..	V. 103	V. 98	..	N. 67	N. 68
jātir yātu rasātalaṃ ..	N. 23	N. 23	N. 23	N. 24	N. 19	N. 39	N. 31	N. 31
jātyandhāya ca durmu	S. 44	S. 45	S. 48	S. 43	S. 42	S. 89	S. 58	S. 58
jīrṇā eva manorathāś..	..	V. 80	V. 93	V. 86	V. 80	V. 78	V. 84	V. 83
jñānaṃ satāṃ mānamadā	V. 86	..	V. 92	..	..	..	..	..
tapasyantaḥ santaḥ ..	V. 43	V. 36	V. 42	V. 39	V. 36	V. 73	V. 77	V. 76
taruṇī veśoddīpita ..	S. 93	S. 93	S. 96	S. 92	S. 90	S. 41	S. 89	S. 90
tasmād anantam ajaraṃ	V. 75	V. 66	V. 78	V. 60	V. 66	V. 67	V. 67	V. 09
tasyāḥ stanau yadi ..	S. 83	S. 80	S. 83	S. 79	S. 77	S. 17	S. 17	S. 18
tānīndriyāṇi sakalāni	..	..	..	..	..	N. 40	..	..
tāvad eva kṛtinām api	S. 3	S. 3	S. 3	S. 3	S. 3	S. 55	S. 69	S. 70
tāvad evāmṛtamayī ..	S. 67	S. 67	S. 70	S. 65	S. 64	S. 74	S. 44	S. 43
tāvan mahattvam pāṇḍi	S. 49	S. 40	S. 53	S. 47	S. 46	S. 61	S. 75	S. 76
tuṅgaṃ veśma sutāḥ ..	..	..	..	..	..	V. 18	V. 10	V. 20
tṛṣā śuṣyatyāsye piba..	V. 87	V. 81	V. 94	V. 87	V. 81	..	V. 9	V. 19
tṛṣṇāṃ chindhi bhaja	N. 53	N. 50	N. 51	N. 50	N. 46	N. 77	N. 68	N. 60
trailokyādhipatitvam..	V. 79	V. 70	V. 82	V. 84	V. 70	..	..	..
tvaṃ rājā vayam apyu	V. 25	V. 28	V. 25	V. 24	V. 23*	V. 48	V. 50	V. 51
tvam eva cātakādhāro	..	..	..	..	..	N. 50	..	..
dadatu dadatu gālīr ..	V. 29	V. 102	..	..	..	..	..	..
dākṣiṇyaṃ svajane ..	N. 93	N. 04	N. 92	N. 91	N. 89	N. 22	N. 18	N. 18
dātāro yadi kalpaśā ..	..	N. 70	..	..	..	..	..	..
dānam bhogo nāśas ..	N. 63	N. 61	N. 63	N. 61	N. 59	N. 43	N. 34	N. 34
dikkālādyanavacchin	V. 1	V. 1	V. 1	V. 1	V. 1	N. 1	N. 1	N. 1
diśa vanahariṇībhyo ..	S. 10	S. 13	S. 13	S. 13	S. 13	..	S. 35	S. 34
dīnā dīnamukhaiḥ ..	V. 9	V. 8	V. 9	V. 9	V. 8	V. 19	V. 11	V. 21
durārādhyāś cāmī ..	V. 55	V. 48	V. 55	V. 51	..	V. 74	V. 78	V. 77
*durgrāhyaṃ hṛdayaṃ	N. 52	N. 49	N. 50	N. 49	N. 45	..	..	..
durjanaḥ parihartavyo	N. 28	N. 29	N. 30	N. 30	N. 26	N. 53	N. 42	N. 42
dūrād arthaṃ ghaṭa- ..	N. 100	N. 103	N. 100	N. 99	N. 98	..	..	..
daivena prabhuṇā ..	N. 102	N. 104	N. 101	N. 100	N. 99	..	N. 92	N. 00
daurmantryān nṛpatir	N. 21	N. 21	N. 21	N. 22	N. 1[18]	N. 42	N. 33	N. 33
draṣṭavyeṣu kim ..	S. 42	S. 44	S. 47	S. 42	S. 40	S. 7	S. 7	S. 7
dhanyānāṃ girikanda	V. 95	V. 88	V. 105	V. 92	V. 88	V. 14	V. 37	V. 14
dhanyāsta eva taralā	S. 4	S. 4	S. 4	S. 4	S. 4	S. 92	S. 61	S. 61
dhanyās te ye viraktā	S. 100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

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Stanza	A	B	E	H	J	W	X	Y
dhik tasya mandamana	S. 58	..	..	S. 57	..	..	..	..
na kaścid caṇḍakopā ..	N. 73	N. 74	N. 73	N. 71	N. 69	N. 57	N. 46	N. 46
na gamyo mantrāṇām	S. 68	S. 68	S. 71	S. 66	S. 65	S. 88	S. 57	S. 57
na dhyātaṃ padam ..	V. 12	V. 11	V. 12	V. 12	V. 11	V. 42	V. 44	V. 45
na naṭā na viṭā na ..	V. 28	V. 25	V. 28	V. 27	V. 26	V. 56	V. 55	V. 56
na nirmitā kena ca ..	N. 60	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
na bhikṣā duḥprāpā ..	V. 37	V. 104	..	..	..	..	..	..
namasyāmo devān nanu	N. 20	N. 20	N. 20	N. 20	N. 17	N. 94	N. 93	N. 91
namratvenonnamantaḥ	N. 40	N. 48	N. 41	N. 40	N. 37	N. 60	N. 59	N. 60
na saṃsārotpannaṃ ..	V. 3	V. 3	V. 3	V. 3	V. 3	V. 3	..	V. 11
nābhyastā bhuvi vādi	V. 85	V. 79	V. 91	V. 85	V. 70	V. 43	V. 45	V. 46
nāmṛtaṃ na viṣaṃ kiṃ	S. 25	S. 25	S. 27	S. 24	S. 23	S. 75	S. 45	S. 44
nāyaṃ te samayo raha	..	..	V. 99	..	..	..	..	..
nindantu nītinipuṇāḥ	N. 9	N. 10	N. 10	N. 10	N. 9	N. 83	..	N. 76*
nivṛttā bhogecchā ..	V. 10	V. 9	V. 10	V. 10	V. 9	V. 10	V. 33	V. 9
nīcā duḥkhe na yā ..	N. 11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
nūnaṃ hi te kavivarā	S. 56	S. 57	S. 61	S. 55	S. 54	S. 10	S. 10	S. 10
nūnam ājñākaras tas ..	S. 60	S. 69	S. 72	S. 67	S. 66	S. 11	S. 11	S. 11
netā yasya bṛhaspatiḥ	N. 59	N. 57	N. 59	N. 58	N. 56	N. 88	N. 81	N. 81
naivākṛtiḥ phalati ..	N. 44	N. 43	N. 45	N. 44	N. 40	N. 96	N. 98	N. 97
no cintāmaṇayo na ..	V. 103	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
no satyena mṛgāṅka ..	S. 43	S. 30	S. 32	S. 29	S. 28	S. 77	S. 47	S. 46
patraṃ naiva yadā ..	..	..	..	..	..	N. 93	..	..
padmākaraṃ dinakaro	N. 83	N. 84	N. 81	N. 81	N. 79	N. 73	N. 63	N. 63
paradāraparadravya ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	N. 60	..
parikṣīṇaḥ kaścit ..	N. 6	N. 7	N. 7	N. 7	N. 6	N. 45	N. 36	N. 36
paricaritavyaḥ santo ..	..	N. 101	..	..	..	..	..	..
paribhramasi kiṃ ..	..	..	..	..	..	V. 60	V. 61	V. 62
parimalabhṛto vātāḥ ..	S. 34	S. 34	S. 37	S. 33	S. 32	S. 33	S. 80	S. 81
parivartini saṃsāre ..	N. 96	N. 98	N. 96	N. 96	N. 93	N. 32	N. 23	N. 24
pareṣāṃ cetāṃsi ..	V. 35	V. 31	V. 35	V. 33	V. 31	V. 59	V. 60	V. 61
pāṇiṃ pātrayatāṃ ..	..	..	..	..	..	V. 51	V. 90	V. 90
pāṇiḥ pātraṃ pavitraṃ	V. 54	V. 47	V. 54	V. 50	..	..	V. 99	V. 99
pātālam āviśasi yāsi ..	V. 76	V. 67	V. 79	V. 82	V. 67	V. 68	V. 71	V. 70
pātitopi karāghātair ..	N. 25	N. 25	N. 25	N. 26	N. 21	N. 85	..	..
pānthastrī virahāna- ..	S. 84	S. 81	S. 84	S. 80	S. 78*	S. 36	S. 83	S. 84
pāpān nivārayati yo ..	N. 33	N. 34	N. 35	N. 37	N. 30	N. 72	N. 64	N. 65
puṇyo grāme vane vā	V. 58	V. 50	V. 57	V. 53	V. 48	V. 21	V. 13	V. 23
puṇyair mūlaphalais ..	V. 61	V. 53	V. 61	V. 56	V. 51	V. 24	V. 16	V. 26
purā vidvattāsīd upa ..	V. 30	..	V. 29	..	..	..	..	..
praṇayamadhurāḥ pre-	S. 53	S. 54	S. 58	S. 52	S. 51	S. 30	S. 19	S. 20*
*prathitaḥ praṇayava	S. 90	S. 89	S. 92	S. 88	S. 86*	S. 32	S. 84	S. 85
pradānaṃ pracchannaṃ	N. 78	N. 79	N. 78	N. 76	N. 74	N. 64	..	N. 57
prasahya maṇim uddha	N. 3	N. 3	N. 3	N. 3	[N. 3]	N. 4	N. 4	N. 4
prāṅ māmeti manāganā	S. 66	S. 66	S. 69	S. 64	S. 63	S. 25	S. 25	S. 24
prāṇāghātān nivṛttiḥ	V. 64	V. 57	V. 65	V. 60	V. 55	N. 26	N. 54	N. 54
prāptāḥ śriyaḥ sakala	V. 73	V. 64	V. 75	V. 67	V. 64	V. 65	V. 66	V. 67
prārabhyate na khalu	..	..	..	..	..	N. 27	N. 72	N. 72
priyasakhavipaddaṇḍā	V. 91	V. 83	V. 100	..	V. 84	..	N. 90	N. 88*
priyā nyāyyā vṛttir ..	N. 15	N. 14	N. 14	N. 14	N. 13	N. 28	N. 56	N. 56
praudyat prauḍhapri ..	S. 96	S. 96	S. 99	S. 95	S. 93	..	S. 96	S. 98
phalaṃ svecchālabhyaṃ	..	..	..	..	..	V. 25	V. 17	V. 27
phalam alam aśanāya	V. 23	V. 21	V. 23	V. 21	V. 21	V. 54	V. 52	V. 54.
bāle ḥāle cakitahari ..	..	V. 59	..	..	..	..	..	..
bāle līlāmukulitam ..	S. 15	V. 105	S. 18; V. 68	..	V. 57	S. 93	S. 62	S. 62
bimbākāraṃ sudhādhā	..	S. 15	..	..	..	..	..	..

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Stanza	A	B	E	H	J	W	X	Y
boddhāro matsaragras	V. 2	V. 2	V. 2	V. 2	V. 2	V. 2	N. 2	N. 2
brahmajñānavivekanir	..	V. 95	..	V. 98	V. 94	V. 13	V. 36	V. 13
brahmāṇḍam maṇḍalī	..	V. 73	V. 85	V. 74	V. 73	..	V. 92	V. 92
brahmā yena kulāla ..	N. 36	N. 37	N. 38	N. 21	N. 34	N. 95	..	N. 92
brahmendrādimarud ..	..	..	..	..	..	V. 37	V. 30	V. 40
bhaktir bhave maraṇa	V. 74	V. 65	V. 76	V. 68	V. 65	V. 66	V. 70	V. 68
bhagnāśasya karaṇḍa	N. 24	N. 24	N. 24	N. 25	N. 20	N. 84	N. 82	N. 82
bhartṛhari bhūmipati	**N. 105**	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
bhavanti namrās tara	N. 80	N. 81	N. 80	N. 78	N. 76	N. 70	N. 62	N. 61
bhavanto vedāntapra..	S. 12	S. 16	S. 15	..	..	S. 52	..	..
*bhavyaṃ bhuktaṃ ..	..	..	V. 77	V. 100	..	..	..	..
bhikṣāśanaṃ tadapi ..	V. 20	V. 18	V. 20	V. 19	V. 18	V. 15	V. 38	V. 15
bhikṣāśī janamadhya	..	V. 76	V. 88	V. 77	V. 76	..	V. 95	V. 95
bhikṣāhāram adainyam	..	..	..	..	..	V. 27	V. 20	V. 30
bhīmaṃ vanaṃ bhavati	N. 56	N. 53	N. 55	N. 54	N. 53	N. 102	**N. 101**	**N. 100**
bhūḥ paryaṅko nija ..	..	..	..	..	..	**V. 86**	..	..
bhogā na bhuktā vaya	V. 13	V. 12	V. 13	V. 13	V. 12	V. 8	V. 32	V. 7
bhogā bhaṅguravṛttayo	V. 94	V. 87	V. 104	V. 91	V. 87	V. 36	V. 29	V. 30
bhogā meghavitāna ..	V. 56	V. 49	V. 56	V. 52	V. 47	V. 32	V. 25	V. 35
bhogāstuṅgataraṅga ..	..	V. 96	..	V. 101	V. 96	V. 31	V. 24	V. 34
bhoge rogabhayaṃ ..	..	..	..	..	[V. 47]	V. 28	V. 21	**V. 31**
bho bho buddhivicāra	..	V. 100	..	..	..	..	..	..
bho martyāḥ śṛṇuta ..	V. 88	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
bhrāntaṃ deśam aneka	V. 4	V. 4	V. 4	V. 4	V. 4	V. 4	V. 2	V. 2
bhrūcāturyāt kuñcitā..	S. 26	S. 26	S. 28	S. 25	S. 24	S. 3	S. 3	S. 3
majjatv ambhasi yātu	N. 57	N. 55	N. 57	N. 56	N. 54	N. 101	N. 99	N. 98
maṇiḥ śāṇollīḍhaḥ ..	N. 5	N. 6	N. 6	N. 6	N. 5	N. 44	N. 35	N. 35
mattebhakumbhadalane	..	S. 7	S. 7	S. 7	S. 7	S. 58	S. 72	S. 73
mattebhakubmhapariṇā	S. 17	..	S. 19	S. 17	..	..	..	..
madhu tiṣṭhati vāci ..	..	..	..	..	..	S. 82	S. 51	S. 51
madhurayaṃ madhurair	S. 47	S. 48	S. 52	S. 46	S. 45	S. 34	S. 81	S. 82
manasi vacasi kāye ..	N. 16	N. 15	N. 15	N. 15	N. 14	N. 78	N. 69	N. 70
mahādevo devaḥ sarid	V. 46	..	V. 45	..	..	..	..	..
mahāśayyā pṛthvī ..	V. 78	V. 69	V. 81	V. 71	V. 69	V. 84	V. 94	V. 94
maheśvare vā jagatām	V. 92	V. 84	V. 101	V. 89	V. 85	V. 79	..	V. 84*
mātar medini tāta ..	..	V. 77	V. 89	V. 78	V. 77	..	V. 100	**V. 100**
mātar lakṣmi bhajasva	V. 65	V. 58	V. 66	V. 61	V. 56	..	V. 93	V. 93
mātsaryam utsārya ..	S. 13	S. 19	S. 16	S. 15	S. 15	S. 18	S. 37	S. 36
māne mlāyini khaṇḍi..	V. 34	V. 30	V. 34	V. 32	V. 30	..	V. 79	V. 78
mālatīkusumasyeva ..	..	..	..	..	..	N. 104	..	..
mālatī śirasi jṛmbha ..	S. 54	S. 55	S. 50	S. 53	S. 52	S. 24	S. 24	S. 23
mukhena candrakāntena	S. 75	S. 70	S. 74	S. 69	S. 68	S. 20	S. 16	S. 16
mugdhe dhānuṣkatā ..	S. 78	S. 74	S. 77	S. 72	S. 71	S. 13	S. 14	S. 13
mṛgamīnasajjanānām	N. 34	N. 35	N. 36	N. 32	N. 31	N. 61	N. 50	N. 50
mṛtpiṇḍo jalarekhayā	V. 27	V. 24	V. 27	V. 26	V. 24	..	V. 58	V. 59
mohaṃ mārjaya tām	V. 62	V. 54	V. 62	V. 57	V. 52	V. 62	V. 63	V. 64
maunān mūkaḥ pravaca	N. 39	N. 39	N. 40	N. 41	N. 36	N. 58	N. 47	N. 47
*yaḥ prīṇayet sucari ..	N. 27	N. 27	N. 27	N. 28	N. 23	N. 68	..	N. 59
*yato meruḥ śrīman ..	V. 71	V. 62	V. 73	V. 81	V. 62	..	V. 73	V. 72
yatrānekaḥ kvacid api	V. 42	V. 35	V. 41	V. 38	V. 35	V. 39	V. 41	V. 42
yathā kandukapātena	N. 26	N. 26	N. 26	N. 27	N. 22	..	N. 83	N. 83
yathāturaḥ pathyam ..	..	S. 42	S. 45	..	..	..	..	..
yadacetanopi pādaiḥ ..	N. 87	N. 88	N. 86	N. 85	N. 83	N. 37	N. 29	N. 29
yadā kiñcijjñoham ..	V. 32	V. 29	V. 32	V. 31	V. 29	N. 8	N. 8	N. 8
yadā yogābhyāsa ..	S. 101	S. 5	S. 5	S. 5	S. 5	S. 96	S. 68	S. 68
yadāsīdajñānaṃ smara	V. 82	V. 74	V. 86	V. 75	V. 74	S. 98	**V. 101**	S. 69
yadi dhaninām satpuru	..	**N. 108**	..	..	..	..	..	..

Stanza	Northern Recension					Southern Recension		
	α			β		γ	δ	
	A	B	E	H	J	W	X	Y
yadi nāma daivagatyā	..	N. 107	**N. 104**	**N. 103**	..	..	..	..
yad etat pūrṇendu ..	S. 31	S. 32	S. 34	S. 31	S. 30	S. 79	S. 52	S. 48
yad etat svacchandaṃ	V. 53	V. 46	V. 53	V. 49	V. 46	..	V. 83	V. 82
yad dhātrā nijabhāla	N. 69	N. 68	N. 69	N. 67	N. 65	N. 49	N. 40	N. 40
yad yasya nābhiruci ..	..	S. 101	**S. 105**	**S. 101**	**S. 98**	**S. 100**	..	..
yan nāgāmadavāri ..	..	N. 54	..	N. 55	..	..	..	..
yasmin jīvati jīvanti ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	N. 24	..
yasyāsti vittaṃ sa ..	N. 64	N. 62	N. 64	N. 62	N. 60	N. 41	N. 32	N. 32
yāṃ cintayāmi satataṃ	N. 1	N. 1	N. 1	V. 106	..	N. 2	..	..
yāvat svastham idaṃ	V. 84	V. 78	V. 90	V. 79	V. 78	V. 72	V. 76	V. 75
yā sādhūṃśca khalān	N. 30	N. 31	N. 32	N. 34	N. 27	N. 98	N. 94	N. 93
yūnām anaṅgaṃ jayatāṃ	..	..	..	..	..	..	S. 21	..
yūyaṃ vayaṃ vayaṃ	V. 67	..	V. 67	V. 62	..	..	..	..
yenaivāmbarakhaṇḍena	V. 16	V. 15	V. 16	V. 16	V. 15	..	N. 87	N. 87*
ye vardhanto dhana ..	V. 49	V. 42	V. 49	V. 45	V. 42	V. 26	V. 18	V. 28
yeṣāṃ na vidyā na ..	..	..	..	..	..	N. 13	..	..
ye santoṣanirantara ..	N. 19	N. 19	N. 19	N. 19	V. 83	..	V. 19	V. 20
raktatvaṃ kamalānāṃ	..	..	N. 29	..	..	..	..	..
ratnair mahābdhes ..	N. 65	N. 63	N. 65	N. 63	N. 61	N. 80	N. 71	N. 71
ramyaṃ harmyatalaṃ	V. 68	..	V. 70	V. 63	V. 59	V. 76	V. 81	V. 80
ramyāś candramarīca..	V. 83	V. 75	V. 87	V. 76	V. 75	V. 75	V. 80	V. 79
rāgasyāgāram ekaṃ ..	S. 41	S. 43	S. 46	S. 41	S. 41	S. 70	S. 30	S. 29
rājate rājamānāyā ..	..	..	..	S. 99	..	..	..	..
rajan dudhukṣasi yadi	N. 71	N. 72	N. 71	N. 69	N. 67	N. 46	N. 37	N. 37
rājans tṛṣṇāmburāṣer ..	S. 19	S. 18	S. 21	S. 18	S. 17	S. 69	S. 29	S. 28
rātriḥ saiva punaḥ ..	V. 77	V. 68	V. 80	V. 70	V. 68	V. 41	V. 43	V. 44
re re cātaka sāvadhā ..	..	..	..	..	..	N. 51	..	..
lajjāṃ guṇaughajana	N. 97	N. 90	•N. 97	N. 95	N. 95	**N. 110**	N. 74	N. 73*
labheta sikatāsu ..	..	N. 4	N. 4	N. 4	N. 3	N. 5	N. 5	N. 5
lāngulacālanam adhaś	N. 70	N. 71	N. 70	N. 68	N. 66	N. 31	N. 22	N. 23
līlāvatīnāṃ sahajā ..	S. 8	S. 11	S. 11	S. 11	S. 11	S. 78	S. 48	S. 47
lobhaś ced aguṇena ..	N. 41	N. 40	N. 42	N. 39	N. 38	N. 55	N. 43	N. 44
vaktraṃ candravikāsi	S. 24	S. 24	S. 26	S. 23	S. 22	S. 5	S. 5	S. 5
vacasi bhavati saṅga ..	S. 102	S. 6	S. 6	S. 6	S. 6	S. 56	S. 70	S. 71
vane raṇe śatrujalā ..	N. 55	N. 52	N. 56	N. 53	N. 52	N. 97	N. 100	N. 99
vayaṃ yebhyo jātāś ..	V. 41	V. 34	V. 40	V. 37	V. 34	V. 45	V. 47	V. 48
vayam iha parituṣṭā ..	V. 52	V. 45	V. 52	V. 48	V. 45	V. 53	V. 53	V. 53
varaṃ parvatadurgeṣu	..	N. 60	N. 62	..	..	N. 14	..	..
varaṃ prāṇocchedhaḥ	N. 58	N. 56	N. 58	N. 57	N. 55	N. 36	N. 28	N. 28
varaṃ śṛṅgotsaṅgād ..	N. 85	N. 86	N. 82	N. 83	N. 81	..	N. 77	N. 78
varṇaṃ sitaṃ jhaṭiti ..	V. 105	..	..	..	N. 48	V. 71	V. 75	V. 74*
valibhir mukham ..	V. 15	V. 14	V. 15	V. 15	V. 14	V. 9	V. 31	V. 8
vahati bhuvanśreṇiṃ	N. 95	N. 96	N. 94	N. 93	N. 91	N. 35	N. 27	N. 27
vahnis tasya jalāyate..	N. 86	N. 87	N. 85	N. 84	N. 82	N. 100	N. 79	N. 79
vāñchā sajjansaṅgame	N. 49	N. 47	N. 49	N. 48	N. 44	N. 62	N. 51	N. 51
vitīrṇe sarvasve ..	..	V. 44	V. 51	V. 47	V. 44	V. 81	V. 80	V. 86
vidyā nādhigatā ..	V. 50	V. 43	V. 50	V. 46	V. 43	V. 44	V. 46	V. 47
vidyā nāma narasya ..	N. 92	N. 93	N. 91	N. 90	N. 88	N. 20	N. 16	N. 16
vipadi dhairyam athā	N. 8	N. 9	N. 9	N. 9	N. 8	N. 63	N. 52	N. 52
vipulahṛdayair īśair ..	V. 24	V. 22	V. 24	V. 23	V. 22	V. 57	V. 56	V. 57
viyad upacita meghaṃ	S. 92	S. 92	S. 95	S. 91	S. 89	S. 42	S. 90	S. 91
viramata budhā yoṣit	..	V. 56	V. 64	V. 59	V. 54	..	S. 67	S. 67
virama virmāyāsād ..	N. 74	N. 75	•N. 74	N. 72	N. 71	..	N. 91	N. 89*
virahopi saṅgamaḥ ..	S. 72	S. 78	S. 81	S. 76	S. 75	..	S. 65	S. 65
viruddhas tathyo vā ..	N. 50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
vivekavyākośe vikasa-	V. 18	..	V. 18	..	..	..	..	..
viśramya viśramya ..	S. 61	S. 61	S. 64	S. 60	S. 58	S. 22	S. 22	S. 21

	Northern Recension					Southern Recension		
	α			β		γ	δ	
Stanza	A	B	E	H	J	W	X	Y
viśvāmitraparāśara ..	..	..	..	..	S. 12	S. 65	S. 79	S. 80
vistāritaṃ makara ..	S. 51	S. 52	S. 56	S. 50	S. 49	S. 84	S. 53	S. 53
veśyasau madanajvā ..	S. 46	S: 47	S. 50	S. 45	S. 44	S. 90	S. 59	S. 59
vairāgyaṃ saṃśrayaty	**S. 104**	S. 100	S. 104	S. 100	S. 97	S. 99	**S. 100**	..
vyāghrīva tiṣṭhati ..	V. 101	V. 94	..	V. 99	V. 95	V. 35	V. 28	V. 38
vyādīrghoṇa calena ..	S. 71	S. 77	S. 80	S. 75	S. 74	S. 86	S. 55	S. 55
vyālaṃ bālamṛṇāla ..	N. 80	N. 90	N. 87	N. 87	N. 85	N. 6	N. 6	N. 6
śakyo vārayitum ..	..	..	..	..	..	N. 11		..
śambhusvayambhuharayo	S. 48	S. 50	S. 54	S. 48	S. 47	S. 1	S. 1	S. 1
śayyā śītaśilā gṛhaṃ ..	V. 90	**V. 107**	V. 96	..	..	..	..	..
śaśī divasadhūsaro ..	N. 4	N. 5	N. 5	N. 5	N. 4	N. 56	N. 45	N. 45
śāstrajñopi praguṇi ..	S. 35	S. 36	S. 39	S. 35	S. 34	S. 62	S. 76	S. 77
śāstropaskṛta śabda ..	N. 7	N. 8	N. 8	N. 8	N. 7	N. 15	N. 11	Ṇ. 11
śiraḥ śārvaṃ svargāt ..	V. 47	V. 39	V. 46	V. 42	V. 39	N. 10	N. 10	N. 10
śubhraṃ sadma savi ..	S. 2	S. 2	S. 2	S. 2	S. 2	S. 95	N. 95	N. 94
śṛṅgāradrumanīrade ..	S. 40	S. 41	S. 44	S. 40	S. 39	S. 71	S. 31	. S. 30
śrotṛṃ śrutenaiva na	N. 67	N. 66	N. 67	N. 65	N. 63	N. 71	N. 61	N. 62
saṃsāra tava paryanta	S. 38	S. 39	S. 42	S. 38	S. 37	S. 68	S. 34	S. 33
saṃsāro'sminnasāro ku	S. 32	S. 33	S. 35	S. 32	S. 31	S. 66	S. 32	S. 31
saṃsāro svapnasāro pa	S. 21	S. 21	S. 23	S. 20	S. 19	S. 19	S. 38	S. 37
*sakho dhanyāḥ kecit	V. 59	..	V. 59	..	· ..	..	..	..
saṅgama viraha ..	..	..	..	S. 77	..	..	..	..
sa jātaḥ kopyāsīn ..	..	V. 26	V. 30	V. 28	V. 27	..	V. 59	V. 60
sati pradīpe satya ..	S. 74	S. 71	S. 73	S. 68	S. 67	S. 14	S. 13	S. 14
satyaṃ janā vacmi na	S. 7	S. 10	S. 10	S. 10	S. 10	S. 54	S. 41	S. 40
satyānṛtā ca paruṣā ..	N. 72	N. 73	N. 72	N. 70	N. 68	N. 47	N. 38	N. 38
satyāmeva trilokī ..	..	..	V. 97	..	..	..	..	..
santaptāyasi saṃsthi	N. 35	N. 36	N. 37	N. 33	N. 32	N. 67	N. 57	N. 58
santyanyopi bṛhaspati	N. 66	N. 64	N. 66	N. 64	N. 62	N. 34	N. 26	N. 26
santyevātra vane vane	..	..	..	..	..	..	N. 70	..
sanmārge tāvadāste ..	S. 30	S. 31	S. 33	S. 30	S. 29	S. 59	S. 73	S. 74
sa parapratārako' sau	S. 60	S. 60	S. 63	S. 59	S. 57	S. 57	S. 71	S. 72
samārambhā bhagnāḥ	..	..	..	V. 65	..	..	..	..
sampatsu mahatāṃ ..	..	N. 28	N. 28	N. 20	N. 25	N. 66	N. 55	N. 55
saṃmohayanti madayan	..	..	..	V. 105	..	S. 21	..	..
sarpaḥ krūraḥ khalaḥ	..	..	..	..	..	..	N. 44	..
sahakārakusumakesara	S. 91	S. 90	S. 93	S. 89	S. 87	S. 37	S. 85	S. 86
*sā ramyā nagarī mahān ..	V. 40	V. 33	V. 39	V. 36	V. 33	V. 38	V. 40	V. 41
sāhityasaṅgītakalā ..	..	..	..	..	..	N. 12	..	..
siṃhaḥ śiśur api nipa	N. 98	N. 100	N. 98	N. 97	N. 94	N. 38	N. 30	N. 30
siṃho balī dvirada ..	..	..	..	**V. 107***	..	..	..	..
siddhādhyāsitakandare	S. 9	S. 12	S. 12	S. 12	..	S. 67	S. 33	S. 32
sujanaṃ vyajanaṃ manye	..	..	..	..	..	..	N. 58	..
sutārā vikrītā ..	N. 37	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
sudhāmayopi kṣayaroga	..	..	S. 36	..	..	..	..	..
sudhāśubhraṃ dhāma	S. 80	S. 85	S. 88	S. 84	S. 82	S. 40	S. 88	S. 89
sūnuḥ saccaritaḥ satī ..	..	..	..	..	..	N. 25	..	..
sṛjati tāvad aśeṣa ..	V. 102	V. 97	..	V. 102	V. 97	N. 92	N. 86	N. 86
stanau māṃsagranthī	V. 21	V. 19	V. 21	V. 20	V. 19	V. 16	V. 39	V. 16
strīmudrāṃ kusumāyudha	S. 50	S. 51	S. 55	S. 49	S. 48	S. 64	S. 78	S. 79
sthālyāṃ vaidūryamai	..	N. 69	N. 54	N. 52	N. 51	N. 100	N. 97	N. 96
sthitiḥ puṇyeraṇye ..	V. 38	..	V. 37	..	..	..	..	..
snātvā gāṅgaiḥ payo ..	..	V. 82	V. 95	V. 88	V. 82	V. 83	V. 88	V. 88
spṛhayati bhujayor ..	..	N. 97	N. 95	N. 94	N. 92*	..	..	..
sphuratsphārajyotsnā	V. 45	V. 38	V. 44	V. 41	V. 38	V. 80	V. 85	V. 85

	Northern Recension					Southern Recension		
	α			β		γ	δ	
Stanza	A	B	E	H	J	W	X	Y
smitaṃ kiñcid vaktraṃ	S. 27	S. 27	S. 29	S. 26	S. 25	S. 6	S. 6	S. 6
smitena bhāvena ca ..	S. 5	S. 8	S. 8	S. 8	S. 8	S. 2	S. 2	S. 2
smṛtā bhavati tāpāya	S. 28	S. 28	S. 30	S. 27	S. 26	S. 73	S. 43	S. 42
srajo hṛdyāmodā vyaja	S. 103	S. 91	S. 94	S. 90	S. 88	S. 39	S. 87	S. 88
svalpasnāyuvasāvaśeṣa	N. 32	N. 33	N. 34	N. 36	N. 29	N. 30	..	N. 22
svādiṣṭhaṃ madhuno	V. 7	V. 101	V. 7	..	..	..	..	..
svāyattam ekāntaguṇaṃ	N. 90	N. 91	N. 89	N. 88	N. 86	N. 7	N. 7	N. 7
harturyāti na gocaraṃ	N. 12	N. 11	N. 11	N. 11	N. 10	N. 16	N. 12	N. 12
hiṃsāśūnyam ayatna	V. 11	V. 10	V. 11	V. 11	V. 10	..	V. 97	V. 97
hemante dadhidugdha	S. 97	S. 97	S. 100	S. 96	S. 94	S. 48	S. 95	S. 97

MISCELLANEA

Tilaka Mark

In modern times Hindu women whose husbands are living have generally three ever-present distinguishing signs, viz. they wear a neck ornament called Maṅgalasūtra (or Māṅgalyasūtra), they apply to the forehead a *tilaka* (mark made with saffron, red powder or some other substance) or put vermilion in the parting of the hair, and they wear bangles (of gold, glass, etc.). In my *History of Dharmaśāstra* (vol. II, p. 537) I showed that the practice of wearing the Maṅgalasūtra is not very old, is not known to any sūtra or ancient smṛti and that it is provided for by such late smṛtis as those of Śaunaka and Laghu-Āśvalāyana. The practice of applying *tilaka* was not dealt with in that work. A few facts about that practice are brought together here.

First, a few literary references may be set out. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata refers to the *tilaka* mark in several connections. For example, after defining the *tripatākā* posture of the hand (in 9. 26, Nir. Ed.) it provides that the wiping of tears and the application of *tilaka* should be represented by that posture. In chapter 21, while speaking of the four kinds of ornaments, it refers to the *tilaka* on the forehead (in verse 24) and further states (verse 27) that the cheek may be ornamented by means of *tilaka* and *patrarekhā*. The *Rāmāyaṇa*[1] (Ayodhyā 95. 17) states that Rāma rubbed his finger on a heap of manaḥśilā (red arsenic) and made a beautiful mark (*tilaka*) therewith on the forehead of Sītā and that when Sītā embraced him that *tilaka* mark was seen impressed on the chest of Rāma. In the Araṇyakāṇḍa[2] it is said that when the Sun (in his apparent motion) came to be associated with the southern part (of the celestial hemisphere) the northern quarter (of the skies) like a woman devoid of a *tilaka* mark did not appear beautiful (or to advantage). In the *Saundarānanda*[3] of Aśvaghoṣa (IV. 13) the heroine puts a mirror in the hands of the hero with the words "hold this mirror in front of me while I apply the viśeṣaka mark". The *Amarakośa* says that Tamālapatra (a mark made with musk on the

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[1] स निघृष्याङ्गुलिं रामो धौते मनःशिलोच्चये ।
चकार तिलकं तस्या ललाटे रुचिरं तदा ।।
मनःशिलायास्तिलकः सीतायाः सोऽथ वक्षसि ।
समदृश्यत संक्रान्तो रामस्य विपुलौजसः ।।
—रामायण, अयोध्या 95. 17
(ed. with com. of गोविन्दराज).

[2] सेवमाने दृढं सूर्ये दिशमन्तकसेविताम् ।
विहीनतिलकेव स्त्री नोत्तरा दिक्प्रकाशते ।।
—अरण्यकाण्ड 6. 8.

[3] दत्त्वाथ सा दर्पणमस्य हस्ते ममाग्रतो धारय तावदेनम् ।
विशेषकं यावदहं करोमीत्युवाच कान्तं स च तं बभार ।।
—सौन्दरानन्द IV. 13.

forehead which resembles the dark leaf of tamāla tree), a *tilaka* (mark resembling sesame grain), *citraka* and *viśeṣaka* are synonymous and the commentator Kṣīrasvāmī adds that these are all different *tilaka* marks. In the *Raghuvaṁśa* [4] (IX. 41) Kālidāsa displays a fine play on the two meanings of *tilaka* (a tree, a mark on the forehead): "Not that the *tilaka* (tree) did not lend a charm (i.e. it did lend a charm) to the sylvan spot when it (the tree) was marked with lovely collyrium-like bees that fell upon its beautiful flowers, just as a *tilaka* (mark) set near bee-like stretches of collyrium in the midst of floral wreaths (put on by her on the head) does enhance the charms of a young damsel." In the *Kumārasambhava* [5] also Kālidāsa reverts to the same imagery of *Tilaka* (tree, mark) and the blue bees. In the *Mālvikāgnimitra* [6] (III. 5) the poet harps on the same idea when he states that vernal beauty treats with contempt the efforts of women to enhance the charms of their faces, viz. the colour of *alaktaka* dye applied to their lips by women is surpassed by the brilliance of the red Aśoka flower; the *kurabaka* flower, dark-white and reddish, throws into the shade the viśeṣaka and the (beauty due to the) application of *tilaka* (mark) is eclipsed by the *tilaka* (trees or flowers) to which collyrium-like bees cling. In another place in the same drama [7] Kālidāsa speaks of the face of the heroine turned away from the hero as one the *tilaka* mark (on which) was split up into segments by the knitting of her eyebrows. It should be noted here that Mālavikā who was only a maiden (and not a married woman) had a *tilaka* of dark-red hue on her forehead between the eyebrows. In the *Mṛcchakaṭika* [8] (I) the *Sūtradhāra* asserts that the ground which is rendered dark and variegated by dragging about an iron pan appears more attractive like a young woman who has decked herself with a viśeṣaka. The *Śiśupālavadha* [9] (III. 63) speaks of divine Vāsudeva, the (*Tilaka*)

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4 अलिभिरञ्जनबिन्दुमनोहरैः कुसुमपङ्क्तिनिपातिभिरङ्कितः ।
न खलु शोभयति स्म वनस्थलीं न तिलकस्तिलकः प्रमदामिव ॥
—रघुवंश IX. 41.

5 लग्नद्विरेफाञ्जनभक्तिचित्रं मुखे मधुश्रीस्तिलकं प्रकाश्य ।
—कुमारसम्भव III. 30.

6 रक्ताशोकरुचा विशेषितगुणो बिम्बाधरालक्तकः
प्रत्याख्यातविशेषकं कुरवकं श्यामावदातारुणम् ।
आक्रान्ता तिलकक्रियापि तिलकैर्लीनद्विरेफाञ्जनैः
सावज्ञेव मुखप्रसाधनविधौ श्रीर्माधवी योषिताम् ॥
—मालविका III. 5.

7 पश्य ते सख्या मुखम् ।
भ्रूभङ्गभिन्नतिलकं स्फुरिताधरोष्ठं
सासूयमाननमितः परिवर्तयन्त्या ।
—मालविका IV. 9.

8 लोहकटाहपरिवर्तनकृष्णसारा कृतविशेषका इव युवतिरधिकतरं शोभते भूमिः ।
—मृच्छकटिक I.

9 स्निग्धाञ्जनश्यामरुचिः सुवृत्तो वध्वा इवाध्वंसितवर्णकान्तेः ।
विशेषको वा विशिशेष यस्याः श्रियं त्रिलोकीतिलकः स एव ॥
—शिशुपाल III. 63.

ornament of the three worlds, adding to the charm of the capital as a viśeṣaka does in the case of a young married woman (*vadhū*). There are double-meaning epithets applicable both to Vāsudeva and viśeṣaka which show that the *tilaka* on the forehead was round in shape and glossy dark in hue. The *Matsyopurāṇa* [10] in the tale of Satyavān and Sāvitrī makes the former say to his beloved "this sylvan spot possessing beautiful *tilaka* trees appears lovely like you who wear a beautiful *tilaka* mark".

In the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa there are frequent references to the *tilaka* on the forehead of women. Tārāpīḍa asks his weeping queen,[11] "why does your forehead not bear a *tilaka* mark made with the paste of *gorocanā* (yellow orpiment)?" This shows that *gorocanā* was used for making the *tilaka* mark, while a little above the same passage shows that the cheeks were painted by ladies with figures made with saffron. On the birth of a prince to Tārāpīḍa the women in the harem gave themselves up to dancing and singing [12] to such an extent that their clothes were rent asunder by the sharp tips of their arm ornaments when they violently collided with each other, but that they took care to have at least some portion of their *tilakas* remaining (and did not allow the *tilaka* to be entirely rubbed off). In the gorgeous description of Patralekhā [13] who was presented to Candrāpīḍa in the early morning on a certain day the poet states that her broad forehead was adorned by a *tilaka* of sandal paste that looked pale because it was stale (made the previous day).

These literary references are enough to show that from at least the beginning of the Christian era married women as well as maidens applied a *tilaka* (mark) on their forehead made with musk, saffron or even sandalwood paste. But these passages do not clearly indicate that the making of a *tilaka* mark on the forehead was an absolute necessity, a *sine qua non* in the case of all married women whose husbands were living. They rather lead one to infer that the *tilaka* mark was intended only to set off the charms of young ladies.

In the *Vṛddha-Hārītasmṛti* [14] (chap. XI) the author expatiates at length upon the daily duties of wives. In verses 86-87 it is prescribed that a wife should get up before her husband in the last watch of the night, should perform *śauca* and

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10 विभाति चारुतिलका त्वमिवैषा वनस्थली।

—मत्स्य 209. 8.

11 इमां च केन हेतुना मानिनि धारयस्यनुपरचितगोरोचनाबिन्दुतिलकामसंयमितालकिनीं ललाटरेखाम्।

—कादम्बरी, पूर्वभाग para. 53.

12 किञ्चिदवशिष्टतमालपत्रेण....नृत्तक्रीडाप्रसक्तेनान्तःपुरिकाजनेन।

—कादम्बरी, पूर्वभाग para. 67.

13 पर्युषितधूसरचन्दनरसतिलकालङ्कृतललाटपट्टया....अनुगम्यमानं कन्यया etc.

—कादम्बरी, पूर्वार्ध para. 99.

14 उत्थाय पश्चिमे यामे भर्तुः पूर्वमतन्द्रिता।
कृत्वा शौचं विधानेन दन्तधावनमाचरेत्॥
कृत्वाथ मङ्गलस्नानं धृत्वा शुक्लाम्बरं तथा।
आचम्य धारयेदूर्ध्वपुण्ड्रं शुभ्रं मृदैव तु॥
चन्दनेनापि कस्तूर्या कुङ्कुमेनापि वाऽसति।

—वृद्धहारीत XI. 85–87.

brush her teeth, that she should have an auspicious bath and wear a white *sāri*, should sip water and apply white *ūrddhvapuṇḍra* with (holy) clay or with sandalwood paste or musk or with saffron, if (one or the other be) not available. The Śūdrakamalākara quotes from the *Madanaratna* a passage of the *Skandapurāṇa* in which occur the following verses: a woman who desires long life for her husband should never be without turmeric powder, *kuṅkuma* (either saffron or red paste for applying to the forehead), red lead, collyrium, bodice, *tāmbūla*, auspicious ornaments (such as maṅgalasūtra, nosering, etc.), applying perfumes to the hair, braiding the hair, ornaments on the wrist and in the ear. These verses show that the *Skandapurāṇa* [15] required married women to apply saffron paste (to their forehead). It must, however, be said that there is hardly any smṛti passage that expressly makes the applying of a *tilaka* obligatory.

The same result is arrived at in another but an indirect way. In the *Vṛddha-Hārītasmṛti* (XI. 205–207) certain rules of conduct are laid down for widows that do not become *satīs* on the death of their husbands. A widow should always give up the perfuming of her hair, *tāmbūla*, using unguents and flowers, ornaments, coloured clothes, taking food from plates of bell-metal, taking two meals a day, applying collyrium to the eyes. In this long list no reference is made to the giving up of *tilaka*. So it appears to follow that *tilaka* was not an absolute necessity for women whose husbands were living; similarly in the *Skandapurāṇa* [16] (Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 4, verses 75ff.) there are many verses forbidding a widow to braid her hair, to sleep on a cot, to apply unguents to her body, to wear a bodice, to wear coloured clothes, etc. But a direction not to apply *tilaka* is altogether wanting in that passage.

The *Matsyapurāṇa*,[17] chap. 260, gives a picturesque description of the image of Śiva in the Ardhanārīśvara form. It says, "the half representing Śiva should have matted hair and the digit of the moon, while in the other representing Umā, *sīmanta* (parting of hair) and *tilaka* should be shown". The same chapter also describes the Umāmaheśvara image and states that the goddess should be seated on the left thigh of Śiva and that she should be shown as resplendent with the *tilaka* on the forehead.[18] It is not unlikely that the necessity for a *tilaka* on the forehead of women arose by

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15 मदनरत्ने स्कान्दे—
हरिद्रां कुङ्कुमं चैव सिन्दूरं कज्जलं तथा ।
कूर्पासकं च ताम्बूलं माङ्गल्याभरणं शुभम् ॥
केशसंस्कारकबरीकरकर्णविभूषणम् ।
भर्तुरायुष्यमिच्छन्ती दूरयेन्न क्वचित्सती ॥
—शूद्रकमलाकर 4th प्रकरण (स्त्रीधर्म) ।

The verse occurs in स्कन्दपुराण, (ब्रह्मखण्ड, धर्मारण्य section, chap. 7. 28-29).

16 Vide *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. II, p. 585 n. 1370 for the passage from स्कन्दपुराण.

17 ईशार्धे तु जटाभागो बालेन्दुकलया युतः ।
उमार्धे चापि दातव्यौ सीमन्ततिलकावुभौ ॥
—मत्स्यपुराण 260. 2.

18 वामे तु संस्थिता देवी तस्यौरौ बाहुगूहिता । . . . .
सबालिका कर्णवती ललाटतिलकोज्ज्वला ॥
—मत्स्य 260. 14-15.

analogy from the practice of males applying a puṇḍra mark to the forehead with ashes or sandalpaste. This last practice of applying ashes to the forehead, the head, shoulders, etc., with mantras is certainly old (vide *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. II, pp. 672–675).

The evidence of ancient paintings would have been very valuable in this connection. But extant paintings do not go as far back as the literary evidence carries the matter. Even the Ajanta paintings do not disclose that women had *tilakas* on their foreheads. It is not unlikely that in the course of centuries the *tilaka* on the forehead in some of the paintings even if it existed in the beginning might have become faint or become altogether obliterated.

P. V. K.

Ātman in pre-Upaniṣadic Vedic Literature. By H. G. Narahari, M.A., M.Litt. (Adyar Library Ser. No. 47) *1944*. Pages 47+278. Rs.8.

This work embodies the thesis which Mr. Narahari, working under the guidance of Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Head of the Department of Sanskrit in the Madras University, presented for the Degree of Master of Letters in 1943. The work is an attempt to establish what Dr. C. Kunhan Raja says in his foreword (at pages xviii-xix), "I have always asserted that what we find in the Upaniṣads is an attempt at understanding the philosophy of the Ṛgvedic period and not an attempt at working a new philosophy. The position is that what is enunciated in the Upaniṣads is only what existed in the philosophy of the Ṛgvedic period." It is difficult to subscribe to this assertion of Dr. Raja. One may then assert that the philosophy of Śaṅkarācārya and, for the matter of that, of Rāmānujācārya and of Madhvācārya are only an attempt to understand the faint glimmerings of philosophy in the Ṛgveda *and not the evolution of a definite and reasoned statement* of new philosophic truths. The popular saying that there is nothing new under the Sun will have been carried into the realm of philosophy. No one can deny that the Ṛgvedic sages had a certain philosophical outlook. But it is going too far to say that the Upaniṣads do not at all evolve a new statement of philosophic truths but only understand the philosophy of the Ṛgveda. Dr. Raja himself makes somewhat contradictory statements, viz. "There is considerable difficulty on one point, viz. the problem of transmigration. There *is no definite statement or hint about the Ṛgvedic sages being aware of such a phenomenon in man's* life in the whole field of the Ṛgvedic texts. The first definite statement about the theory of transmigration we come across in the Upaniṣads . . ." (xviii); "The philosophical doctrines found definitely reflected in Ṛgvedic poetry only support the view that, even in Ṛgvedic times, people knew the phenomenon of transmigration in man's life" (xix). The reasoning in the *last sentence cannot be accepted.* Even when certain texts contain no hint about a certain doctrine, yet if later texts contain that doctrine, we can always assume to our own satisfaction, if not to that of others, that the doctrine was already existent at the time of the texts which are silent about it.

The work under review contains 12 chapters, which principally deal with the following matters: Ātman was known to the Ṛgvedic seers, that the examination of the meanings of words like Brahman, Satya, Ātman, or Tman, Jīva, Prāṇa, Manas, Suparṇa and Asu yields the result that the Ṛgvedic seers were aware of some spirit or self in man, that it was different from the body and survived physical death, that it is unborn and eternal, that it experiences the reward of actions in Heaven or in Hell (chap. I); the words Brahman and Ātman are the pivots of Upaniṣadic thoughts and numerous scholars have dealt with the original meaning of the two words and their meanings in the Upaniṣads (chap. II); Conception of immortality in the Veda (III); *Vedic doctrines of the worlds above* (IV); Devayāna and Pitṛyāna (V); Theism of the Ṛgveda, i.e. the relation between God and man in the Ṛgveda (VI); the classification of Vedic gods into terrestrial, atmospheric and celestial; but another and a more important one is the twofold classification into Sūktabhājaḥ (those who receive a hymn of praise or prayer) and Havirbhājaḥ (those who receive oblation or Soma, chap. VII); Prayers and rewards in the Veda (VIII); Etymology of the word Upaniṣad; Brāhmaṇas are as much the originators of Upaniṣadic thought as the Kṣatriyas. Upaniṣadic thought is a logical

development of earlier Brahmanical speculation (IX); the doctrine of Transmigration traced to the Ṛgveda (X); Sin and Hell as understood in the Veda (XI); Upaniṣads themselves contain the tradition of Upaniṣadic ideas being only a continuance and expansion of the philosophical speculation found recorded in the Saṁhitās.

There is a good bibliography at the end and an index. Although one may not agree entirely with the fundamental hypothesis on which the thesis is based, the work evinces industry and research and makes a substantial contribution to the literature on the philosophy of the Ṛgveda and the Upaniṣads and deserves to be read by all those who are interested in this subject.

P. V. K.

Bṛhat-Kathākośa of Ācārya Hariṣeṇa. By A. N. Upadhye, M.A., D.Litt. Singhi Jain Series Number 17; Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1943 A.D. Price Rs.12.

As usual, Dr. Upadhye has prepared this edition of Hariṣeṇa's Bṛhat-Kathākośa, with utmost care and editorial integrity, having based it on three MSS, which he has described on pp. 1–6. In his learned Introduction, he first discusses the history of Narrative Tale in ancient India (pp. 6–39) under four sections respectively dealing with (1) Vedic and Brahmanic, (2) Śramaṇic, (3) Buddhistic, and (4) Jinistic literature. In the last section, he examines the growth of the narrative tale among the Jainas in particular, through the canonical and the post-canonical literature and then distinguishes between four or five types of the narrative tale in Jain literature. He then briefly surveys the compilations of Kathānakas in Jain literature (pp. 39–47) and discusses in detail the source-book of the different Kathākośas, namely, the Ārādhanā of Śivakoṭi, in a separate chapter (pp. 47–72). But the most important piece of work done by the editor in this connection is a critical comparative study of the more important Kathā-kośas in relation to the Gāthās of the Bhagavatī Ārādhanā (pp. 72–80). It reflects very clearly the patient industry of the learned editor. A critical study of Hariṣeṇa's Kathānaka-kośa itself is given in Ch. VI (pp. 80–117), discussing its language and contents, as well as the social, religious and historical bits of information which can be derived from them. In Ch. VII, the date and the native place of Hariṣeṇa are fully discussed and it is concluded that this Kathānaka-kośa was composed in 931-932 A.D. at Wadhwan in Kathiawar. A very useful Index of proper names occurring in the book is added at the end of the text and this is followed by a few useful critical notes.

On pp. 12-13 of his Introduction, the editor has quoted his own words first written by him in his Introduction to Pravacanasāra, Bombay, 1935. In these "A great Magadhan Religion flourishing long before the advent of the Aryans into Central India, on the banks of the Ganges in Eastern India" is strongly postulated. It is also maintained that "And possibly at the end of the Brāhmaṇa period these two streams of Aryan and indigenous religious thoughts met each other, and the mutual reaction resulted on the one hand into the Upaniṣads in which Yājñavalkya and others are, for the first time, preaching Ātmavidyā and on the other in contrast to the Vedic ritualistic form of religion practised by the masses, into Jainism and Buddhism that came prominently to the fore as the strong representatives of the great heritage of Magadhan Religion". These are indeed very thought-provoking remarks; but unfortunately, they seem to have no foundation of facts as they are disclosed to us at present through Brahmanical, Buddhistic and Jinistic literature.

From these remarks, it would seem, for example, that the Upaniṣadic Yājñavalkya borrowed his thoughts about Ātmavidyā from this supposed Magadhan Religion and taught them *for the first time* in the Upaniṣads, which stood in contrast with the Vedic ritualistic form of religion practised by the masses (and not by the Brahmins). But do the strong representatives of the great heritage of the Magadhan Religion, i.e. Buddhism and Jainism, possess any traces of the Ātmavidyā preached by this Yājñavalkya? Again, Yājñavalkya does not mention any earlier authorities representing the Magadhan Religion either for approval or for criticism. Does this mean that he was slavishly following these authorities wholly identifying himself with them or that he was ungrateful?

What was, again, the language of the people among whom the Magadhan Religion flourished? What was their culture, civilization and mythology? Evidently, none of these factors which are essential for the existence of a great religion have descended into its representatives, i.e. Buddhism and Jainism. Their languages, Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī, are derived from Vedic and Classical Sanskrit; their mythologies, and particularly the proper names of men, women and places, are essentially Sanskritic and clearly traceable to early Brahmanical prototypes. Their available scriptures are full of evidence that they have branched off from some main stock of the Indo-Aryans owing to disagreement with the priestly classes on some religious features. A dissentient reference to the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, and their Yajñas involving Himsā is so intermixed with the teaching of the pontiffs of the two religions, both early and late, that it leaves a strong impression upon the dispassionate reader's mind that these two religions have originated among the non-Brahmanical followers of the Vedic Religion, since they disagreed with its stagnant sacrificial ritual and raised the banner of revolt against the parent stock. It is true that the Jainas have a few peculiar philosophical dogmas which are not traceable to early Sanskritic literature; but are these so important as to warrant the postulation of a separate religion? And would it be logical to assume that the language, literature, proper names, social ideas, and mythology connected with this great Magadhan Religion were so completely obliterated that not a trace of them was left in the strong representatives of its heritage? Can it be said that this heritage consists of the few philosophical ideas which are peculiar to Jainism? But they are not shared even by Buddhism. Besides, it is suggested that the followers of the Magadhan Religion were not Aryans; to what race did they belong? Is this race traceable in the followers of the two religions which are strong representatives of its religion? Or was it completely wiped out? We confess that we are unable to see eye to eye with the editor in all these matters.

Here is another attempt of the editor in the same direction. On page 36, last 8 lines, it is suggested that the story of the Pāṇḍavas and Kṛṣṇa was known to the early Jainas in a form which is clearly earlier than the one seen in the Mahābhārata. Now does this mean that the story originally belonged to the Magadhan Religion and that it was known to the Jainas in its purer form since they were the lawful inheritors of it? If so, what were the original names of the heroes and other persons figuring in it? Evidently, they could not be Sanskritic, because Sanskrit was the language of the Aryans. If they were some non-Aryan names, why were they not retained by the Jainas who have merely copied out the Sanskrit names in their Prakrit garb? What non-Aryan traits in the story have been retained by the Jainas alone and dropped by the Mahābhārata in the process of borrowing?

We earnestly request the editor to support his attractive theory about the Magadhan Religion with strong valid proofs and not by mere fanciful ideas which may be pleasing to the ardent sectarian, but which will not appeal to a thoughtful reader.

H. D. V.

The Vikramāṅkadevacarita Mahākāvya of Bilhaṇa Kavi. Edited by Shastri Murari Lal Nagar, Sāhityāchārya. Benares, 1945 (The Princess of Wales Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts Series, No. 82).

This is a critical edition of Bilhaṇa's Vikramāṅkadevacarita which is a Mahākāvya in 18 Sargas. The present edition is based mainly upon the Jesalmir manuscript, from a copy of which Dr. Bühler first published the poem in the Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, in 1875. The editor has also consulted two other MSS, which are, however, only copies of the Jesalmir manuscript. Dr. Bühler's edition as also the Benares edition by Pandit Ramavtara Sarma published in 1927 are utilized by the editor in preparing this edition. It contains an exhaustive Introduction written in simple elegant Sanskrit, furnished with foot-notes giving full references for the various points raised and discussed by the editor. In the Preface, also written in Sanskrit, which precedes this Introduction, the editor fully and clearly explains the material and plan of his edition. At the end of the text of the poem, the editor has given a brief explanation of difficult words in the poem, giving it the name Carita-candrikā. This Candrikā, we are told, includes the very brief gloss written in the margin on the old Jesalmir manuscript. A complete alphabetical Index of the stanzas in the poem is given for the first time in this edition, after the Candrikā. At the end, an alphabetical list of important proper names and subjects, a copperplate grant of Vikramāditya VI (the hero of the poem), reproduced from EI. XII, pp. 142ff, and three genealogical tables are supplied, all of which immensely add to the utility of the edition.

Vikramāṅkadevacarita is an historical poem describing the life of King Vikramāṅkadeva of the Kalyana Branch of the Chalukya dynasty. He reigned from 1076 to 1127 A.D. The last, i.e. the 18th, canto of the poem gives the personal history of Bilhaṇa, and incidentally of Kashmir and its kings, because Bilhaṇa was a Kashmirian by birth. Bilhaṇa wandered all over India to meet other learned men and patrons of learning some time between 1062 and 1065 A.D. At the end of his wanderings he came into contact with the hero of the poem, who conferred the title Vidyāpati on him. It appears that Bilhaṇa passed his last days at the court of King Vikramāṅkadeva.

It is indeed a great pleasure to find that the editor has greatly improved upon the earlier editions and has given us a more reliable text of the poem with the help of a critical and judicious use of the material which was available to him. In his Sanskrit Introduction running over nearly 40 pages printed in small type, the editor very ably discusses many historical problems presented by the poem, and arrives at conclusions which can hardly be disputed. In the foot-notes to this Introduction he rightly points out many an error committed by Dr. Bühler and others in the discussion of the historical material contained in the poem. A brief summary in English of all the important points discussed and decided by the editor in this Introduction would have been surely most welcome from the point of view of the general reader.

H. D. V.

Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra with the commentaries of Devasvāmin and Nārāyaṇa, Vol. I—Adhyāya I. Edited by Svāmī Ravi Tīrtha. The Adyar Library, 1944. Pages xx+220. Price Rs.6-4-0.

Having appeared serially in the *Adyar Library Bulletin* from 1937 to 1941, the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* (ĀGS) with the commentaries of Devasvāmin and Nārāyaṇa is now issued as a separate book in the Adyar Library Series as No. 44. This

volume contains the first of the four chapters, about a half of the whole work in bulk.

The commentary by Nārāyaṇa has already been published in the Bibliotheca Indica and the Anandashram Sanskrit Series. For the present edition, the text as printed in the Bibliotheca Series has been utilized with some alterations and modifications in the light of the MSS available in the Adyar Library. Devasvāmin's commentary, however, is printed here for the first time. Since Nārāyaṇa mentions him as an earlier commentator, it is certain that Devasvāmin preceded Nārāyaṇa.

Only three MSS, viz. from Adyar, Tanjore and Lahore, have been utilized in the preparation of this edition. The MS from the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal was available only for the early portion of the work, about 44 pages. MSS of the work are available in various MSS collections in India, but "on a general comparison, it was found that the three manuscripts that were used by me (i.e. the editor) were enough for preparing a good edition" (Intr., p. x). The editor, however, promises to incorporate the material from other MSS in an Appendix, after the whole work has been published on the present plan. The transcript of Devasvāmin's commentary secured from the Trivandrum Palace Library is, according to the editor, a distinct recension, which has to be printed as a separate commentary. It was, however, of great help in reconstructing the commentary. When the whole text is printed along with the promised Appendix and the distinct recension of Devasvāmin's commentary, we may be in a position to offer critical remarks about the choice of readings, etc.

The editor, as stated by Dr. Raja, is a student of Sanskrit Literature, especially in its religious and philosophical aspects. He promises to discuss in detail all material regarding *ĀGS* in the Introduction, after the commentary is printed, and we have no doubt that it will be a valuable contribution.

The value and importance of the Gṛhyasūtras to students of Ancient Indian Culture need no emphasis. The different systems of the Gṛhyasūtras and the different interpretations of the same Gṛhyasūtra at different periods show that the social order was never static, but was subject to evolutions and changes according to the needs of the time. The editor rightly points out the great value of these ancient texts for the shaping and reconstruction of our future life and society.

The printing and get-up of the book are excellent in the usual style of the Adyar Library publications.

A. D. P.

Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Bombay. Compiled by PROF. G. V. DEVASTHALI. Published by the University of Bombay, 1944. Books I and II. Pages 877. Price Rs.20 for the whole set.

One of the fruitful results of the cultural contact with the West, which commenced since the last decades of the eighteenth century by the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at Calcutta, is the proper appreciation of critical apparatus in preparing critical editions of Sanskrit texts. Collection and preservation of MSS and printing of descriptive catalogues form very important factors in this line. The science of critical editing has recently received an added impetus since the publication of Dr. Sukthankar's celebrated *Prolegomena*, the bedrock of the Mahābhārata textual criticism. It is a sign of good times that of late various MSS libraries have taken to the preparation and publication of descriptive catalogues of MSS in their collection. The vast amount of material that still awaits classification and description in this field can be imagined from the fact that over

since the publication of the last part of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* in 1906, which recorded about 86 MSS collections, of which hardly a few had issued catalogues, the new entries up to the year 1937, as found in the provisional fasciculus of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* undertaken by the University of Madras, amount to 71. It may be observed that most of the collections have not issued even printed lists of MSS, thus making them sealed books to all students of Sanskrit. It is needless to emphasize the value and importance of descriptive catalogues of MSS to students of Indology, especially to those engaged in preparing critical editions of different texts, and the present catalogue published by the University of Bombay is a step in the right direction.

The book under review describes, by following a uniform technique, 2,408 MSS in Sanskrit and Prakrit comprising the Bhagwatsinghji Collection and the Bhadkamkar Memorial Collection, deposited in the Library of the University of Bombay. The Bhagwatsinghji Collection was started out of the donation of Rs.6,000 made by H.H. the Thakore Saheb of Gondal in May 1885. Till the year 1936, 335 MSS were acquired for this collection and these have been included in the present catalogue. An equal number subsequently purchased will be catalogued later on. The Bhadkamkar Memorial Collection, which contains more than 2,000 MSS, owes its origin to the scheme prepared by Prof. Velankar to perpetuate the memory of his Guru, the late Prof. Bhadkamkar. In January 1934, the collection, which was originally housed in the Wilson College, was presented to the University by Prof. Velankar.

The work of cataloguing these MSS was entrusted to Prof. Devasthali, and he started the work, under the direction of Prof. Velankar, in 1936. Before coming to the scheme and method of the work and to some important features of this collection, it would be useful to give a brief summary of the contents of the book in order to get an idea as to the varied subjects covered by the collection and the number of MSS for each branch. The work has been divided into two Books, the first Book comprising Vol. I and part of Vol. II, while the second contains the remaining part of Vol. II, Vols. III and IV and Indices. The first volume entitled "Technical Literature" deals with 553 MSS under five different parts, viz. Linguistics (Nos. 1–128), Literary Science (129–69), Medicine (170–324), Astronomy, Mathematics and Astrology (325–548) and Architecture (549–553). The second volume, "Hindu Literature" under seven parts, forms the bulk of the whole work, cataloguing over 1,700 MSS. Under "Veda and Vedic" are included about 400 MSS, "Dharmaśāstra" claims about 300, "Epics and Purāṇas" amount to about 150, "Stotras", a little over 400, "Tantras" 230, "Philosophy" 185, and "Kāvya" 180. The third volume deals with "Vernacular Literature" covering 54 MSS, and the last volume on "Jain Literature" has 34 MSS.

The author has uniformly followed the method adopted by Prof. Velankar in his *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Each entry has a short description of the MS giving the number of folios as also of lines and words per page, size, material, script, nature of writing, name and date of the scribe, if any, whether MS complete and its contents; then is given general information and references to the work (if any) in earlier catalogues, excerpts from the beginning and end, authorities cited and chapters (in the case of important MSS) and date, wherever given. Coming to the material of the MSS, it is seen that with the exception of a single MS (No. 2374) which is on palm-leaf and which is also the oldest dated MS in the collection, all MSS are on paper. The entire collection described in this catalogue is in the Devanāgarī script. MS No. 1129 on *Madanamahārṇava*, as observed by the learned compiler, is important as being the oldest available MS of the work. *Kālajñāna* by Śambhunātha (Nos. 189-90) dealing with signs portending the approaching death, which has been included

under "Medicine" should better have been placed under "Prognostics" in Jyotiḥśāstra along with *Kālajñāna* with Ṭīkā (No. 511). In order to find out whether the collection contained any autograph copies, the present reviewer studied dated MSS comparing their dates with those of their authors. It appears likely that MS No. 2316, *Durjanarasanārgala,* composed by Raghunātha Bālakṛṣṇa Devasthali, has been written by the author himself. Another MS, which was copied very soon after its composition, is No. 2404, which was composed in 1484 V.S. and copied in 1499 V.S.

Prof. Devasthali has acquitted himself quite creditably in this laborious task requiring extreme care, systematic methodology and patient industry, and deserves to be complimented on carrying out the work to a successful termination. Before concluding, the present reviewer feels it his duty, in the interest of Indology and Sanskrit scholarship, present and future, to make an appeal to those who have rare and valuable MSS in their collection. It has been our sad experience that some very rare and unique MSS noted in the private collections in the Bombay Presidency by Bühler and Bhandarkar as also those in the collections in the Northern India, which have been recorded by Aufrecht, are recently found to be missing—an irretrievable loss to Oriental scholarship. In order to safeguard against any such unfortunate eventuality owners of private collections should take a generous and charitable view of the matter and hand over their collection for safe preservation to the University. They would thus absolve themselves from Ṛṣi-ṛṇa and Pitṛ-ṛṇa.

The University of Bombay deserves the gratitude of all students of Indology for this solid publication and it is hoped that this volume will be followed by similar catalogues.

A. D. P.

Akabarasāhī-Śṛṅgāradarpaṇa of Padmasundara. Edited by K. Madhava Krishna Sarma. Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, 1943. Pages xxxvii+46+60.

Akabarasāhī-Śṛṅgāradarpaṇa (*ASD*), a small treatise on erotics by Padmasundara, a court-poet and friend of Akbar, has been issued as the first number of the Ganga Oriental Series. The author was a Jain scholar of repute, who has been identified by Prof. Dasharath Sarma with Paramindar of the *Aine Akbari.*

ASD is a Kāvya divided into four sections called Ullāsas. A large number of stanzas from *ASD* are based on the *Śṛṅgāratilaka* by Rudraṭa as shown by Dr. Raja. The poet has closely imitated Rudraṭa in explaining the subject and in giving illustrations. Śloka metre has been employed for definitions and explanations, while the illustrations, which refer to or are addressed to Akbar, are in a variety of longer metres. The number of Rasas accepted in this work is 9, and it is mainly concerned with Śṛṅgāra, as indicated by the title. The first two sections deal with the types of hero and heroine, and the Sambhoga Śṛṅgāra. The Vipralambha is discussed in the third section and in IV. 1–21. The remaining eight Rasas, Bhāvas and Vṛttis and Kāvyadoṣas have been treated in IV. 22–99.

St. II. 74 refers to the exemplary moral character of Akbar and IV. 44 to his victories over his enemies. St. IV. 37 mentions the speciality of Akbar that he ruled single-handed, indicating the period after he freed himself from the domination of Behram Khan, incidentally confirming 1560 A.D. (Intr., p. xxiv) as the probable date of composition of the work. St. I. 54(*a*) is remarkable for its alliteration: कामिन्या किल कमनीयकामकेलौ ।

The present edition is based on two MSS, both from the Anupsinh Collection. The second MS was discovered after the work was prepared from the first MS, and

variants of the second MS have been noted at the end. Dr. Raja has added valuable explanatory notes at the end, which enhance the value of the work.

Śṛṅgārasañjīvinī by Haridevamiśra, which is an independent work comprising 104 stanzas, has been printed as an Appendix. The text is based on the only available MS of this work. It is a beautiful composition and its inclusion no doubt makes the publication valuable. There is an Index at the end where the first quarters of the stanzas in both these works have been alphabetically arranged.

This first publication in the Ganga Oriental Series is an important addition to Sanskrit literature, and we hope that it will be followed by similar works without any hiatus.

A. D. P.

Marathi Language Course. By Miss H. M. Lambert, M.A. (Cantab.). Oxford University Press. Pages 302. Rs.10.

Miss Lambert begins her preface thus: "This language Course has been prepared not only as an aid to the study of the Marathi language by those whose work is largely conducted through that medium, but also as a contribution to experimental work in modern linguistic study and teaching." The book is intended for those who know English but do not know Marathi, and the author has done her best to convey Marathi pronunciation as correctly as possible. The writer has rightly observed that Marathi, like any other living language, changes slightly from place to place, and, therefore, "it is necessary to select some standard of speech and it is impossible to include every local variation". "The standard chosen for this Course is the Marathi spoken by the educated people of the central part of Maharashtra known as Desh. Deshi Marathi as spoken in the district of which Poona is recognized as the educational centre is widely accepted as 'Standard Marathi' in so far as it is possible to find a standard form of any language." The author has made a correct choice in this respect and she has constructed a course of Marathi teaching for English people or for non-Marathi people who know English well. She has employed a phonetic alphabet that suits not only Marathi but most of the major languages of India. To make the pronunciation complete, nine modified letters are added to the English Roman alphabet and thus it is not unlikely that this phonetic alphabet may be the basis of a Romanized Indian alphabet. That kind of alphabet will be very useful to Europeans who wish to study Indian languages. The best thing for the student, of course, is to know the Marathi alphabet as it actually is and Miss Lambert has used that throughout her book. Her attempt to render pronunciation of Marathi words into English by means of the phonetic Roman alphabet has eminently succeeded and the correctness of the pronunciation will give pleasure to a reader of this book whose mother tongue is Marathi. He will realize that the book is not primarily meant for him but for those whose mother tongue is English. Those to whom falls the work of teaching Marathi to English men and women, this excellent book will be of great use.

Miss Lambert has tried, to a very large extent, to find out the stresses and accents in Marathi words and her work in this direction will be useful as a guide to Marathi scholars. On the whole the book is a good guide to all those who wish to teach Marathi to foreigners who know the English language well and we strongly recommend it. Miss Lambert deserves the gratitude of all lovers of Marathi for her excellent attempt to teach Marathi to English-knowing people. The book is finely printed and, for these days, moderately priced.

M. D. A.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Last Peshwa and the English Commissioners, 1818–1851. By Pratul C. Gupta. (S. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta.) 1944. Pp. 113. Rs.6.

A Study of Muslim Inscriptions. By V. S. Bendrey. (Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 2.) 1944. Pp. 197. Rs.7.

Historical Linguistics in Indo-Aryan. By Dr. S. M. Katre. (University of Bombay.) 1944. Pp. 15+227. Rs.2-4-0.

Acyutarāyābhyudaya of Rājanātha Diṇḍima. Ed. by A. N. Krishna Aiyangar. (Sargas 7–12.) (Adyar Library Ser. No. 49.) 1945. Pp. 16+39+63. Rs.3-8-0.

Rāgavibodha of Somanāth. Ed. by Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri. (Adyar Library Ser. No. 48.) 1945. Pp. 42+265. Rs.6.

The Ancient Wisdom of Wales. By D. Jeffrey Williams. (Adyar Library Ser. No. 50.) 1945. Pp. 54. Re.1-4-0.

Jagadvijayacchandas of Kavīndrācārya. Ed. by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. (Ganga Oriental Ser. No. 2, Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner.) 1945. Pp. 57+160.

Makhzanol Asrar: the Treasury of Mysteries of Nizami of Ganjeh. (Probsthain's Oriental Ser., Vol. 27.) 1945. Pp. 16+258. Rs.24.

The Indian Cotton Textile Industry, 1944 Annual. Ed. by M. P. Gandhi. (Gandhi & Co., Sir P. Mehta Road, Bombay, 1.) 1945. Pp. 150. Rs.5.

Suvarnasaptati Sāstra: Sāṅkhya Kārikā Saptati of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa with a commentary reconstructed into Sanskrit from the Chinese translation of Paramārtha and ed. with English Notes, etc. by N. Aiyaswami Sastri. (Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Ser. No. 7.) 1944. Pp. 46+112. Rs.6.

Kenopanishad-Bhāshya. By Sri Rangarāmānuja. Critically ed. with translation into English and notes by Dr. K. C. Varadāchāri and D. T. Tātāchārya. (Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Ser. No. 8.) 1945. Pp. 10+22+18. Rs.2.

Tirukkural Kamattupal: Kalingar and Paripperumal Commentaries. By T. P. Palaniappa Pillai. (Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Ser. No. 9.) 1945. Pp. 14+119. Rs.4.

Danyer's Dutch Activities in the East. By Nihar Ranjan Ray, M.A., D.Litt. & Phil. (Book Emporium Ltd., Calcutta.) 1945. Pp. 20+81. Rs.4.

Mahābhārata: Sabhāparva (II). Ed. by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar and Dr. S. K. Belvalkar. (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.) 1944. Rs.8.

Foundation of Muslim Rule in India. By A. B. M. Habibullah, M.A., Ph.D. (Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore.) 1945. Pp. 354. Rs.15.

A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History. (History of Musunūri Nāyaks.) By M. Somasekhara Sarma. (Andhra University.) 1945. Pp. 136. Rs.2.

Saṅgītaratnākara of Śārṅgadeva. Translated by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. Vol. II, Chap. I. (Adyar Library Ser. No. 51.) 1945. Pp. 16+175. Rs.4-8-0.

Education in India Today. By P. M. Limaye, M.A. (Deccan Education Society, Poona.) 1945. Pp. 140. Rs.2.

CORRECTION

Vol. 20 (1944) of the JBBRAS

Page 77 Translation of Sloka for Theorem 1, last line: *Read* "arc" *for the last word* circumference

,, 79 Sloka for Theorem 6, line 1 : *Read* " चतुर्धा मूलसंयुताः " *for* चतुर्घ्ना मूलयुताः

,, 79 Translation for same, line 2 : *Read* "increased by four times these integers themselves" *for* increased by these integers themselves

,, 81 Translation of Sloka for Theorem 11, line 4 : *Read* "multiplied by half the even integer" *for* multiplied by the even integer

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